

**Reputation Management in The Salvation Army in Australia: a Multi-
Stakeholder Analysis**

By

Stuart Middleton BEc and BComm(Hons)

Submitted in fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
University of Tasmania (July, 2006)

SIGNED DECLARATION:

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University of Tasmania or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material which infringes copyright

Stuart Middleton
Stuart Middleton

01 / 11 / 2006
Date

STATEMENT OF AUTHORITY OF ACCESS

This thesis may be made available for loan and limited copyrighting in accordance with the *Copyright Act* 1968.

Stuart Middleton

Stuart Middleton

01 / 11 / 2006

Date

ABSTRACT

This work provides an insight into how reputation is managed by The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholder groups. These stakeholders include the media, government, donors, volunteers, and clients – groups with differing needs, wants, and desires. The thesis constructs an argument that The Salvation Army in Australia manages its reputation simultaneously across these stakeholder groups through the management of narrative. In this instance, narrative become a key tool of communication, but also serves to frame the understanding of external stakeholders.

Using a strategy of deconstruction (Boje, 2001), the thesis argues that the constructed Salvation Army narrative serves as a reputational barrier for the organisation in that it acts as a mirror to avert the gaze of external stakeholders. It is argued that The Salvation Army works under the intersecting gaze of a panopticon of government, donors, media, volunteers, and clients. In this panopticon, stakeholders have the power to discipline The Salvation Army through causing damage to their reputation should Salvation Army practices fall outside societal norms. However, the narrative mirror serves as a reputational barrier for The Salvation Army by reflecting the gaze of external stakeholders. Key messages and themes in the narrative frame Salvationists as kind and caring purveyors of the truth, and serve to sell constituencies with a central propaganda that they need the Salvos in order to have a functioning welfare system. Thus, the narrative of The Salvation Army as constructed in this thesis is powerful in that it manages the meaning of external stakeholders so that they construct a positive reputation for The Salvation Army.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The support of so many people has made this thesis possible. In particular, I would like to thank Zara Gerven and Patricia Middleton for the immense contribution they have made in helping me through the tough times of this thesis. I know that I could not have done this without them. Thank you.

Of course, no Doctoral Candidate would be in a position to submit without the hard work, dedication, and patience of their Supervisor. Thank you to Dallas Hanson who has provided constructive feedback and comments at all stages during this research process. Without Dallas, I would not have been able to use The Salvation Army as my case study, and this is alone worth thanks. However, I also wish to acknowledge the significant role he has played in my overall development as an academic – it seems amazing that some of the theorists he was mentioning to me almost ten years ago have somehow found their way into this work. And of course, I would also like to thank Dallas for his patience with me whilst I underwent difficult periods in completing this thesis.

Finally, to the many colleagues, family, and friends who have offered kind words and support along the way. In no particular order I would like to thank: Kate Middleton, Malcolm Middleton, Stuart Crispin, John Steen, Cathy Sheehan, Peter Holland, Linda Hall, and Vicki Smith. Also, my great thanks to Lindsay Nelson and Michael Hess who have acted as co-supervisors and tremendous colleagues during various stages of this research. Finally, thanks to Martin Grimmer for his support as Head of School at the University of Tasmania's School of Management. My sincere apologies to anyone I may have missed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT4

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS5

TABLE OF FIGURES7

CHAPTER ONE – LITERATURE REVIEW8

CHAPTER TWO – THE RESEARCH STRATEGY41

CHAPTER THREE – CHRISTIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE AUSTRALIAN
CHARITY INDUSTRY69

CHAPTER FOUR – THE SALVATION ARMY94

CHAPTER FIVE – SALVOS AS SUBJECTS120

CHAPTER SIX – PERCEPTIONS OF EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS150

CHAPTER SEVEN – DECONSTRUCTING THE CONSTRUCTED NARRATIVE
OF THE SALVATION ARMY177

CHAPTER EIGHT – NARRATIVE AS A REPUTATIONAL MANAGEMENT
TOOL IN THE SALVATION ARMY209

CHAPTER NINE - CONCLUSION.....237

LIST OF REFERENCES254

TABLE OF FIGURES

Table 1.1: Specific Benefits of a Positive Reputation (Fombrun, 1998a, p.832)	15
Table 1.2: Characteristics of Reputation (Gotsi & Wilson, 2001).....	17
Table 2.1: Basic Beliefs of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.109)	44
Table 2.2 Story Deconstruction Guidelines (Boje, 2001).....	60
Table 2.3 Deconstructing The Salvation Army Narrative	64
Table 3.1: Problems with State-provided Social Welfare Assistance (Lyons, 2000, p.166):	88
Figure 3.1: The Structure of The Salvation Army	96
Table 4.1: The Doctrines of the Salvation Army (Salvation Army, 1999, p.18)	101
Table 4.2: The Seven Symbols of The Salvation Army Crest (Salvation Army, 2006)	106
Table 4.2: Salvation Army Statements Regarding Baptism and Holy Communion (Salvation Army, 2006)	116
Table 8.1: Dimensions of Reputation according to the RQ (Fombrun, Gardberg, & Server, 2000, p.253).....	212
Diagram 8.1: The Narrative Cycle In The Salvation Army	232

CHAPTER ONE – LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature used to build the argument in this thesis. The first step is to build an understanding of the notion of reputation, beginning with discussion of the etymology of the term so that its historical antecedents can be understood. The use of the term in the organisation studies literature is then presented, particularly the recent understanding which identifies it as an intangible resource, and its subsequent integration into the Resource-Based View (RBV) of the firm as an intangible resource. A definition of reputation is then presented, which is argued to be consistent with characteristics identified by RBV theorists.

A discussion of the importance of stakeholders to an organisation's reputation is then conducted, which provokes an analysis of why and how organisations manage reputation. It is argued that the management of reputation is about managing the meaning of stakeholders through the exercise of unobtrusive power. Structure, strategy, leadership and culture are all mechanisms through which an organisation will seek to manage its reputation. However, these are built on a bedrock of artifacts such as symbols, language, rituals, myth, ceremonies, and settings. It is how these artifacts are communicated to external groups which represent the most fundamental process of an organisation's reputation management.

From this, the central thesis question is presented, and a brief outline of the case organisation is constructed. This is the first step to answering the question, 'how is reputation managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders?' A sketch of the process of the thesis is then presented.

The Etymology of Reputation

Definitions of reputation in the organisational science literature are contested. This may be due to any one of a number of factors including the relatively recent development of the literature, and the large number of disciplinary theories from

which the concept has been drawn – including economics and public relations theory. Thus, it would seem useful first to provide an etymology of the term to help understand the essence of what constitutes a reputation.

The concept certainly has a long and rich history. Jones (2003) traces reputation back to Homer, and his use in both *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* of the Greek word *kleos*. Kleos is defined as ‘that true account of yourself which will live on after your death’ (Jones, 2003, p.xxii). It is heavily entwined with ancient Greek notions of *hero*, a notion quite different to the modern concept, and thus requiring some explanation. The Greek hero was a religious figure, and hero status was only conferred upon death. The life of the hero was then constructed by bards and muses into narrative and recorded into song, or kleos. Kleos can then be defined as ‘glory, fame, that which is heard’, or ‘the poem or song that conveys glory, fame, that which is heard’ (Harvard, 2006). Kleos is then both the medium and the message of the glory of the heroes, and it was constructed by musicians to follow a structural plot, which documented the hero through ordeal, suffering, and death.

Indeed, the heroes themselves are sometimes portrayed as understanding the process by which they will achieve immortality. As an example of this Achilles discusses his own fate in *The Iliad* (9, 410-416):

‘My mother Thetis tells me that there are two ways in which I may meet my end. If I stay here and fight, I shall lose my safe homecoming but I will have a glory (kleos) that is unwilling: whereas if I go home my glory (kleos) will die, but it will be a long time before the outcome of death shall take me’.

Achilles then has a choice in the ancient Greek tradition. He may fight, die and gain kleos, or withdraw, live a long life and sacrifice glory. Kleos means that Achilles will be honoured and celebrated, his immortalisation means he will live on forever – as indeed he has through *The Iliad*.

The English word 'reputation' can be seen to have been derived from two Latin words, *reputare* and *fama*. Considering firstly *reputare*, this can be seen to literally mean 'to count back, think over, consider' (Kidd, 1987, p.286). This word is itself derived from two ancient Latin words, *putativus* (supposed or purported) and *putare* (to think) (Wiktionary, 2006). The result is the modern French word *putative*. This notion was adopted into English, where its first acknowledged use is by Geoffrey Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales*.

The Latin word *fama* provides a more immediately recognisable link to English notions of reputation. Its translation means 'talk, rumour, tradition, public opinion, reputation, fame, infamy' (Kidd, 1987, p.132). This therefore for the first time provides indication that a reputation can be either good or bad. Use of the word *fama* can be observed in the work of the Latin poet Ovid, when he says '*fama tamen clara est; et adhuc sine crimine vixi*'. This can be translated to 'my good name is nevertheless unstained; and so far I have lived without blame' (Wiktionary, 2006).

Today, we can see that the word reputation is comprised of two stems – 're', and 'putative'. 'Re' means to do over again. This is actually from the same stem as *reputare* which conveys the notion in that particular word of 'to think over again'. The stem 'putative' means that something is commonly believed to be true on inconclusive grounds (Wikipedia, 2006). Hence, the dictionary definition of reputation is 'the social evaluation of the public toward a person, a group of people, or an organisation' (Wikipedia, 2006). Having constructed this etymology it is now possible to begin to understand the way in which the term has been applied to organisations.

The Individual and the Collective

Socially, the concept of reputation has proved a useful term for evaluating the worth or value of a person. People may have reputations for being honest, dishonest, polite, energetic, or any one of countless other attributes. However, of interest to this thesis is that the concept of reputation has been appropriated for use in organisation studies. This has mainly occurred through conferring upon organisations the characteristics and descriptions traditionally applied to individual reputations. Hence, organisations

are commonly characterised according to attributes regarding their status (commercial or non-profit), products and services, history, or finances (Bromley, 2000).

This move is not undertaken without some risk however. For instance, the language of the individual will treat the organisation as a singular identity (Cornelissen & Harris, 2001), when an organisation may in fact have several competing identities. Hence, the need to recognise that an organisation may have multiple reputations based across its stakeholder groups (Bromley, 2001), as demonstrated by Carter and Deephouse with regard to Wal-Mart (1999). A further issue is that personal analogies are not necessarily directly transferable to organisations. Bromley (2000) demonstrates this by examining the notion of 'responsibility', which he claims is fairly clear in relation to the individual, but raises awkward legal and ethical problems with regard to organisations. Hence, the need to be careful in characterising corporate reputations.

Despite these concerns, it is logical that notions of corporate reputation have been assimilated into the field of organisation studies. This has in no small part been facilitated by the development of the resource-based view of the firm, which asserts reputation as an intangible resource potentially leading to sustainable competitive advantage.

The Resource Based View (RBV) and Intangible Resources

The Resource-Based View (RBV) of the firm is an area of strategic management theory which has had much impact on the study of reputation. Most often attributed to the writing of Jay Barney, although with admittedly earlier historical antecedents, the theory seeks to explain sustainable competitive advantage in terms of an organisation's internal characteristics. Thus, whilst many theories of competitive advantage had looked to the external environment for opportunities and threats (eg. Porter, 1985), the RBV sought to look internally for idiosyncratic firm attributes which could enhance competitive position (Barney, 1991). Hence, a firm's continued success through the lens of the RBV is attributed to its internal and unique competitive resources (Hoskisson, Hitt, Wan, & Yiu, 1999).

Barney (1991, p.102) describes a firm as having a competitive advantage, 'when it is implementing a value creating strategy not simultaneously being implemented by any current or potential competitors'. Sustainable competitive advantage for a firm is then 'when it is implementing a value creating strategy not being implemented by any current or potential competitors, and when these firms are unable to duplicate the benefits of this strategy' (Barney, 1991, p.102).

According to proponents of the RBV, the foundation of a competitive advantage is resources. Resources are defined by Daft (1983a) as 'all assets, capabilities, organisational processes, firm attributes, information, knowledge, etc. controlled by a firm that enable the firm to conceive of and implement strategies that improve its efficiency and effectiveness'. For resources to provide a potential source of competitive advantage they must fit four criteria – they must be valuable, rare, costly to imitate, and nonsubstitutable (Barney, 1991). Hoskisson et al define these criteria as follows:

'Value refers to the extent to which the firm's combination of resources fits with the external environment so that the firm is able to exploit opportunities and / or neutralise threats in the competitive environment. Rareness refers to the physical or perceived physical rareness of the resources in the factor markets. Inimitability is the continuation of imperfect factor markets via information asymmetry such that resources cannot be obtained or recreated by other firms without a cost disadvantage. Finally, the framework also considers whether the organisations are substitutable by competitors' (1999, p.14).

Early work by Barney (1986) sought to draw attention to the conclusions of prior researchers in order to provide examples of resources which may constitute a competitive advantage by. Hence, he identified work by Williamson (1975), Chamberlin (1933), and Alchian and Demsetz (1972), which drew respective attention to special manufacturing know-how, unique combinations of business experience, and the teamwork of managers. This list is significant because all the resources identified

are intangible. Indeed, Hitt, Keats, & DeMarie (1998) declare that intangible resources are the primary source of competitive advantage because tangible resources such as equipment, buildings, and land can usually be imitated.

This has proven to be an important theoretical development for scholars of reputation. By conceptualising reputation as an intangible resource, researchers are able for the first time to treat the concept as a coherent subject with an identifiable taxonomy (Hall, 1993). The case for treating reputation as an intangible resource is clearly articulated by Hall:

‘... reputation has little significance in a legal context other than the redress obtainable with respect to libel and defamation. It is clearly not possible to buy or sell reputation except insofar as it may be construed to reside in a registered brand name. Reputation, which represents the knowledge and emotions held by individuals about, say, a product range, can be a major factor in achieving competitive advantage through differentiation; it also contributes to a defensible position because of the time which can be involved in matching a reputation which is strong in both fame and esteem; fame can be bought with advertising spending in the short term, but esteem has to be earned, usually over a long period of time’ (1992, p.138).

Reputational researchers have now seized on this terminology and present a long list of benefits which accrue to organisations able to actively maintain a positive reputation. These include an ability to minimise vulnerability to stakeholder action, claim status as a welcome member of the world community, gain competitive advantage, and gain financial benefit (Fombrun, 1998a).

The rise of multinational corporations has ensured that an organisation has many stakeholders, often from different countries and cultures. Tucker and Melewar (2005) list local citizens, competitors, industry commentators, trade associations, government statutory bodies, pressure groups, and the media as some of an organisation’s

stakeholders. A prime example is Royal Dutch / Shell, which faced two reputational crises in 1995 (Fombrun & Rindova, 2000). The first related to the proposal to sink an old offshore drilling platform in the North Sea – a notion which attracted strong opposition from Greenpeace. The second was with regard to its dealings with the military junta in Nigeria which took money away from the suppressed Ogoni people. The focus of stakeholders on these events caused the market value of the Royal Dutch / Shell group of companies to fluctuate wildly (Fombrun & Rindova, 2000).

Fombrun (1998b, p.231) further suggests that organisation wishing to achieve ambitious growth objectives must be understood and accepted as a welcome member of the world community. Those with a reputational edge will meet with the least resistance. This is demonstrated by Hanson and Stuart (2001) in their analysis of BHP's operations at the OK Tedi mine in Papua New Guinea. Their conclusion is that because BHP's operational difficulties at the mine impacted heavily on local communities and smeared the company's reputation, the company faces 'possible difficulties in getting access to other world copper deposits as governments perceive a known despoiler of the environment' (Hanson & Stuart, 2001, p.139).

Dukerich and Carter (2000, p.110) claim 'enhancing an already favourable reputation is a much easier task than trying to defend a faltering reputation'. Hence, it is argued in the literature that companies benefit from employing principles of reputation management. Fombrun (1998b) argues that good reputation will impede rivalry, a claim backed up by Rindova and Fombrun (1999) in their study of IBM. Their case argues that the overwhelming dominance of the IBM model in the early stages of PC development could be attributed to its strong reputation. This competitive advantage was something the organisation continued to enjoy for a long period of time after its strategy ceased to be viable.

Finally, companies which enjoy a good reputation are likely to enjoy a higher share price because shareholders will revise their estimates of the company's future cash flows (Fombrun, 1998b). Broadly speaking, we can consider these to be the major benefits to an organisation which enjoys a positive reputation. More specific examples applying to each are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1.1: Specific Benefits of a Positive Reputation (Fombrun, 1998a, p.832)

Reputation and Profitability	After controlling for other key factors, a study of <i>Fortune 500</i> companies showed that corporate reputation affected profitability in excess of the industry average.
Reputation and Market Value	A study of 216 companies found that there was a relative premium on the stock market values of firms with stronger reputations for social responsibility, after controlling for financial performance.
Reputation and Analysts' Forecasts	An analysis of 303 companies reported that one-year corporate earnings per share forecasts made by financial analysts were most heavily explained by standard performance indicators, but were also partly influenced by the nonfinancial component of the company's reputation.
Reputation and Cost of Capital	A study of 10 portfolios of companies demonstrated that investors were willing to pay more for companies with higher reputation but comparable risk and return, thereby lowering the company's cost of capital.
Reputation and Competitive Advantage	A study of 64 companies showed that intangible resources were a distinct source of sustainable competitive advantage that enhanced a company's profitability.
Reputation and Job Applicants	A study of 200 business undergraduate students found that they were more attracted to jobs in high reputation companies – those whose workplaces were referenced in various books describing the '100 Best Companies to Work For...'
Direct Costs of Reputation Loss	A study of 12 major corporate crises showed that they have significant impact on the market value of companies. Associated with each negative reputational event in a one-week window around the event with billion dollar losses that represented gross changes of 5% to 15% in the market values of those firms.
Reputation and Market-Value Added	A study of the relationship between net market-value added (MVA) and <i>Fortune's</i> index of reputation in 1995 found that a company's reputation was positively associated with both (MVA) and profitability, and negatively associated with the company cost of capital

Seeking A Definition

The preceding discussion has sought to provide an introduction to the way in which reputation has developed, both in literature and in organisation studies. The concept

has proved useful in evaluating individuals, and hence has been applied to collectives. The term has been rendered of interest to the study of organisations through development of the notion of intangible resources, which as outlined in the RBV has provided reputational researchers with an identifiable taxonomy for reputation (Hall, 1992).

In adopting a definition of reputation in organisations the preceding discussion provides a list of variables to consider. For instance, such a definition should recognise the subjectivity of reputations as encapsulated in the Latin word *reputare*, meaning to think. It should also recognise that reputation is a status conferred by others, as implicit in the Greek notion *kleos*. Finally, the definition must acknowledge reputation as an intangible resource, for it is this notion which has provided the taxonomy for researchers to consider reputation and its management as a function of organisations.

Gotsi and Wilson (2001) present a useful overview of the debate surrounding the definition of corporate reputation. They argue that definitions are predicated on two schools of theory, one which views corporate reputation as synonymous with corporate image, and one which considers the terms to be different but interrelated. The latter theory considers the terms to be different, based on a belief that image is a shallow concept which implies that organisations manipulate (Olins, 1989) and manufacture (Bernstein, 1984) their image. According to this school of thought, reputation is considered to be a 'deeper' concept, based on a reflection of the organisation over time (Saxton, 1998). From what we have seen through exploring the etymology of the word reputation, it makes sense to associate with the second school and conceptualise it as a deeper concept that if it were simply synonymous with image. A deeper understanding is encapsulated in the Latin word '*reputare*', meaning to think over again, and also in the notion of '*kleos*', which means to consider the actions of a character over their lifetime.

Gotsi and Wilson also provide a list of characteristics assigned to the concept of corporate reputation. These are consistent with preceding discussion and are presented below:

Table 1.2: Characteristics of Reputation (Gotsi & Wilson, 2001)

- It is a dynamic concept (Balmer, 1991; Barich & Kotler, 1997; Bromley, 1993; Caruana, 1997; Fombrun, 1996; Fombrun & Shanley, 1990; Gray & Blamer, 1998; Mason, 1993; Normann, 1984; Rindova, 1997; Saxton, 1998)'
- It takes time to build and manage (Balmer, 1997; Gray & Balmer, 1998);
- There is a bilateral relationship between the concepts of corporate reputation and corporate image (Rindova, 1997); corporate reputations are largely dependent on the everyday images that people form of an organisation (Balmer, 1998; Bromley, 1993; Fombrun, 1996; Fombrun & Shanley, 1990; Gray & Balmer, 1998; Rindova, 1997; Saxton, 1998) based on the company's behaviour, communication and symbolism (Birkigt & Stadler, 1986), while at the same time corporate reputations can influence stakeholder's everyday images of a firm (Barich & Kotler, 1991; Mason, 1993);
- It crystallises a company's perceived ranking in a field of other rivals (Fombrun, 1996);
- Different stakeholders may have different reputations of the same company based on their own economic, social and personal background (Bromley, 1993; Fombrun, 1996).

Finally then, having considered the etymology of reputation, the characteristics of reputation, and examined its evolution in the field of organisation studies, it is now possible to consider a definition of reputation which is consistent with all of the above. Reputation is then:

‘... a stakeholder's overall evaluation of a company over time. This evaluation is based on the stakeholder's direct experiences with the company and any other form of communication and symbolism that provides information about the firm's actions and / or a comparison with the actions of other leading rivals’ (Gotsi & Wilson, 2001).

This definition is consistent with what has been presented thus far. In order to discuss, let's consider the definition as it relates to the understanding of kleos.

The first comparison to be made is that corporate reputation is a ‘stakeholder's overall evaluation’. In the notion of kleos, who is the stakeholder providing the evaluation? The answer is that it is the ancient Greek bard, who would then present their evaluation through narrative song. This is how Homer presented both *The Illiad* and *The Odyssey*, and it is likely other bards constructed tributes to those they considered

worthy. This construction, like that in the definition of reputation was based 'over time'. As kleos was only conferred upon death, the full extent of the person's life could be evaluated before hero status was bestowed. To base the evaluation of the reputation of an organisation over a period of time is therefore consistent with the original concept of kleos.

On what information was the bard to assess a person's worthiness for kleos? This is harder to determine, but it was likely that it was based on personal knowledge, word-of-mouth, and communication regarding the actions of the hero. This is once again consistent with the definition of reputation, which bases evaluation upon 'direct experiences with the company, any other form of communication, and symbolism that provides information about the firm's actions'.

Finally, the definition of reputation states that it is based on comparison with the actions of other leading rivals. Was this also the case with kleos? The answer is that we may assume it was. Taking Achilles as an example, we are aware that many thousands of others (like him) passed away at the Battle of Troy. Yet, Achilles' life was promoted above those of others and constructed into kleos. At some stage the ancient Greeks there must have engaged in an evaluative process which determined Achilles' life was more worthy of hero status than those of others involved in wars for Greek civilisation.

Thus, the adopted definition from Gotsi and Wilson (2001) is consistent with the original notion of kleos. There are two questions which arise from this definition however. The first is as to why organisations manage reputation, and the second is to how organisations will seek to manage reputation? These questions are considered in the next section.

Stakeholders and Reputation

Reputation management is a complex task for organisations to undertake successfully. To outline the reason for this, consider the following issue raised by Rindova:

‘on the one hand, they [reputations] are considered assets that are owned and managed by firms; on the other hand, they are perceptions of observers – perceptions over which firms have relatively limited control’ (1997).

This provides a dilemma. As Rindova (1997) notes, an organisation does not have perfect control over its reputation, and no amount of management initiative is likely to provide this. What Rindova’s dilemma serves to illustrate is the potential volatility of reputation.

Other researchers have also identified this dilemma. For example, Saxton (1998) defines reputation as ‘the reflection of an organisation over time as seen through the eyes of its stakeholders and expressed through their thoughts and words’. In considering the role of stakeholders in the process of reputation construction, Saxton adds a new variable to the reputation dilemma. Stakeholders can be defined as, ‘any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation’s objectives’ (Freeman, 1984, p.46). Stakeholders may include competitors, governments, the media, shareholders, consumers, employees, and the local community. Wood and Jones (1995) list four key roles of stakeholders in regard to the organisation. These are to:

- ‘(1) set expectations;
- (2) experience effects;
- (3) evaluate outcomes; and
- (4) act on these evaluations.’

This list demonstrates the importance of stakeholders to the organisation as it seeks to build a positive reputation in its competitive environment. The ability of stakeholders to act on evaluations is key. As Frooman (1999) notes, the organisation must manage the interests of stakeholders such that the firm may still achieve its interests. This suggests stakeholders enjoy a degree of control over the actions of an organisation and are thus critical to the ability of the firm to create sustainable competitive advantage. In particular, stakeholders are able to confer competitive advantage on an organisation in three ways.

Firstly, stakeholders are able to control the flow of resources to an organisation. An organisation with a positive reputation has been variously shown to attract better job applicants (Stigler, 1962), attract investors (Milgrom & Roberts, 1986), facilitate effective joint ventures (Dollinger, Golden, & Saxton, 1997), and improve stock market performance (McMillan & Joshi, 1997). In each case, these advantages accrue through the organisation's ability to procure resources from stakeholder groups. Thus, 'an organisation is dependent on various stakeholders for the critical resources that enable it to operate' (Neville, Menguc, & Bell, 2003). For instance, if a stakeholder withholds resources from an organisation, then financial performance will be negatively impacted' (Frooman, 1999).

However, this interaction should not only be assessed through the eyes of the organisation. Considering the stakeholder groups themselves, under what circumstances are they likely to confer resources upon an organisation? Rindova and Fombrun (1999) argue that constituents will engage with firms in the aim of furthering their own objectives through their resource allocations. The assessment as to which organisation provides the better value for stakeholder investment will be made on perceptions and interpretations – routinely generated in the ambient micro-culture of the industry (Abrahamson & Fombrun, 1992). This will be done through an interpretive evaluation of winners and losers in an industry, with resources flowing to those constructedly assessed as winners.

Secondly, stakeholders may also confer competitive advantage on an organisation because they determine the relative success of firms in meeting their expectations (Rindova & Fombrun, 1999). This will be done through a process where the stakeholders will observe, interpret and make sense of the actions of competing firms – following which they may exchange information, organise, and even take collective action to influence firms (Hill & Jones, 1992). The risk to an organisation is that its actions are often overdetermined and inherently ambiguous, and therefore potentially the subject of multiple interpretations (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990). The danger is that various of these interpretations may lead to groups of stakeholders labelling an organisational act as 'illegitimate'. This is consistent with van der Jagt's (2005) study of top executives in Dutch firms. Consider the following statement from a Managing

Director as he outlines the communications challenges faced in eliciting responses he would desire from his organisation's stakeholders:

'The building of confidence in the financial markets requires a great deal of precision. On the one hand you want to radiate strength and confidence and therefore present concrete, strong ambitions. On the other hand at the same time, you obviously want to avoid risking a profit warning. So what do you do?' (*in van der Jagt, 2005, p.182*).

If stakeholder groups construct a situation in which a particular firm is deemed to be 'successful', then that organisation is likely to enjoy a flow of resources which is superior to that of its rivals. Hence, the interpretations and evaluations by stakeholders of an organisation's actions remain key to securing competitive advantage.

The third way in which stakeholders can confer competitive advantage on an organisation is through the creation of industry paradigms (Rindova & Fombrun, 1999). This means that stakeholder groups will arrive at a collective understanding of an industry – such as whose products are best, and whose actions are most effective. This will then help to define future resource allocations. A prime example is that of IBM, which 'for most of this [20th] century, ... has inspired awe among managers and researchers alike, for the market power it achieved' (Rindova & Fombrun, 1999, p.691). In particular, IBM topped *Fortune's* survey of the most admired companies throughout most of the 1980's. The result according to Business Week (1983, p.76) was that when 'faced with hundreds of brands of unknown personal computers to choose from, business customers suffered 'computer shock' and turned to the computer giant for relief'.

Thus, the industry environment in which competitive advantage accrues, and in which reputations are constructed by stakeholders is highly interpretive. It is heavily reliant on the perceptions and constructions of stakeholders, and in particular in the way in which they define success. Organisations need to build a good reputation for two reasons. Firstly they need to have access to the resources which can be conferred by

stakeholders, and secondly they need to have their actions defined as legitimate by stakeholders so they are minimise their exposure to environmental uncertainty. The goal of their reputation management therefore will be to have a reputation which is perceived by important stakeholder groups as superior to their rivals. In other words, they will seek to have power over their reputation.

Reputation Management As The Management of Meaning

It has been shown that stakeholders have much power over an organisation. Through interpretively constructing an organisation's reputation, stakeholder groups are able to make important decisions which will affect the firm's competitiveness. In particular, stakeholders are able to determine whether or not they confer resources upon the organisation, define whether a firm is successful or unsuccessful vis a vis its competitors, and also label an organisation's actions as legitimate or illegitimate. These decisions are fundamentally vital to the organisation, and thus stakeholders represent a source of potential volatility to the organisation.

In conditions in which organisations face volatility, they have been shown to seek power through management, where power is:

‘the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests’
(Weber, 1968, p.53).

Hence, organisations will seek to exercise power over stakeholder groups in order to minimise the volatility they face. In determining how this will occur, it is necessary to discuss exactly what it is that organisations will seek to manage in the reputation management process. Returning to the stakeholders, it can be seen that the power they have over an organisation lies in their constructed perceptions. Their ability to define firms as successful or unsuccessful, and to define actions as legitimate or illegitimate, lies in a web of interpretations, characterised by:

- ‘(1) a widespread exchange of information and interpretations among firms and constituents;
- (2) varying degrees of knowledge and understanding about the industry and firms inside it;
- (3) a multiplicity of interpretations, many of which are of a self-serving nature;
- (4) some degree of agreements about standards of performance in an industry; and
- (5) evaluations of firms relative to these standards and their rivals that give content to their reputations’ (Rindova & Fombrun, 1999).

Hence, when organisations seek to manage reputation, what they are trying to do is ensure that the interpretations and constructions by the stakeholder groups of their firm are positive. In other words, the task for the firm is to engage in the management of meaning such that the cues received by the stakeholders are received favourably.

Management of meaning does not directly relate to traditional conceptions of power because such concepts emphasise power as arising only in situations of conflict (Dahl, 1957). However, in managing meaning, organisations will seek to reduce volatility in the environment by actually preventing conflict from arising. The recognition that avoidance of conflict may in fact be the desired outcome for organisations led Bachrach and Baratz (1970) to conceptualise another form of power – that power where issues could be excluded from decision-making so as to allow the powerful to frame the issue of an agenda. This is articulated by Lukes who maintained power could be used to shape:

‘[people’s] perceptions, cognitions, and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they view it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial’ (1974, p.24).

Under such circumstances therefore, the aim will be to create legitimacy around the organisation's actions and outcomes so that they are immutably beyond the questioning of stakeholders. In this situation, conflict will not be an outcome because stakeholders are presented with a situation in which the organisation's actions are so routinised they appear normal, and therefore not illegitimate. Such a situation has been described by Gramsci as 'ideological hegemony', where hegemony is 'a structure of power relations fully legitimised by an integrated system of cultural and normative assumptions' (Hyman & Brough, 1975, p.199). Hegemony then, seeks to describe those practices which maintain power by preserving the normal functioning of a situation (Clegg, 1979). In order to exercise hegemony, the firm will leverage what Hardy (1985) has described as unobtrusive power:

'Unobtrusive power is used to achieve substantive outcomes by influencing sentiments such that outcomes are deemed legitimate, inevitable, or acceptable. The essence of the unobtrusive aspect of power is the ability to give meaning to events and actions, and to influence the perceptions of others so they either remain unaware of the implications of political outcomes or view them in a favourable way. Unobtrusive power is thus founded in the ability to define reality, not only for oneself, but for others' (Hardy, 1985, p.390).

We may thus understand reputation management as an attempt by organisations to minimise volatility through managing the meaning of groups of stakeholders. This will be done through utilising tools of unobtrusive power, and will seek to legitimise the organisation's actions, and have stakeholders view their organisation in a favourable light. It is now possible to construct an understanding of how firms will enact unobtrusive power in the management of their reputation.

The Management of Unobtrusive Power: How Do Organisations Manage Meaning?

Hardy (1985) cites five main mechanisms through which organisations seek to manage meaning for their stakeholders. These are structure and culture, symbols, language, myths, and rituals, ceremonies, and settings. Given that reputation management has been argued to be about the management of meaning through the exercise of unobtrusive power, these five mechanisms also represent the mechanisms of reputation management. These will now be examined in turn.

Reputation Management As Structure and Culture

The work of institutional theorists uses the notion of legitimation to explicate the organisational desire to formally adopt strategies and structures which will allow for control over a situation. Institutional theory was introduced to the field of organisational studies by Meyer and Rowan (1977) in their seminal article 'Institutionalized Organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony'.

As Fombrun (1998a) declares, well-regarded companies work hard to build legitimacy. Based on Scott and Lyman's (1968) belief that formal structure can signal organisational commitment to rational, efficient standards of organising, institutional theory looks at organisational actions as being defined by legitimating processes. Hence,

'Organisations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalised concepts of organisational work and institutionalised in society. Organisations that do so increase their legitimacy and their survival prospects, independent of the immediate efficacy of the acquired practices and procedures' (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p.340).

The method many organisations use in order to legitimise their own actions is to create formal structure (Powell & DiMaggio, 1984). Hence, there are now functions

within organisations responsible for managing reputation. The relevant function is often determined by the strategy through which the organisation is pursuing its reputational goals. For instance, Deloitte Spain's reputation management function resides within its knowledge management area (Zabala, Panadero, Gallardo, Amate, Sanchez-Galindo, Tena, & Villalba, 2005, 2005), whilst South African Breweries manages from within its Crisis Management area (Tucker & Melawar, 2005). Other organisations place responsibility within the Communication Unit, and others create specific roles such as Chief Ethics and Risk Management Officer (Neef, 2005). Current best practice research also places the role of reputation management as a direct function of both the CEO (Forman & Argenti, 2005) and the Board (Neef, 2005).

Reputation management agents are most commonly advised by researchers to perform their role through a process of continual media monitoring (Tucker & Melawar, 2005). A key objective of reputation management is to ensure that the company has an ability to meet the expectations of its stakeholders (Fombrun, 1998). Hence, by monitoring the work of media the organisation enhances its ability to create the understanding that will link it to its stakeholders (Varez & White, 2000).

Incorporated into the structural management of reputation are notions of organisational leadership and organisational strategy. Turning firstly to strategy, we can see it is a key factor in an organisation's reputation management practices. Fombrun and Rindova (1998) report that for reputation to be managed effectively it must be linked to the organisation's mission, values, and vision. This is reflected in the words of a Chief Executive Officer surveyed in a benchmarking study of reputation management. 'Reputation is a multi-disciplinary idea, but must be linked to the core strategies and objectives of the company and its mission, values and vision. Anything less will be unsuccessful in the long run' (Fombrun & Rindova, 1998, p.206).

The importance of linking reputation to strategy appears to be widely recognised in German corporations. Two thirds of the organisations surveyed by Wiedmann and Buxel (2005) had expressed reputation as an explicit component of their corporate strategies. In particular, reputation management has been shown to be linked to

knowledge and risk management strategies in organisations (Neef, 2005). For instance, Deloitte Spain practices reputation management as part of its intellectual capital management strategy (Zabala et al., 2005).

Perhaps the clearest example of reputation management as strategy comes from Royal Dutch / Shell, where the strategy of adopting everyday excellence as a core value has been seen as a key factor in managing the reputation of the organisation (Fombrun & Rindova, 2000). This has enabled the firm to design strategies and systems which place reputation at the heart of the organisation and allow it to communicate effectively with its stakeholders.

Reputation management is also discussed as being a function of the leadership of an organisation. Reputational leadership is variously ascribed to being a responsibility of the CEO (Fombrun & Rindova, 2000), the Chairman (van der Jagt, 2005), or the Board (Neef, 2005). Wiedmann and Buxel (2005) claim that reputation is the responsibility of the top leadership in three quarters of German companies. The role of leadership is vital to set an example on an issue, or to take charge during a crisis.

Tucker and Melewar (2005) cite the example of Johnson & Johnson as an organisation whose leaders averted a reputational crisis. The company's best-selling analgesic product Tylenol had been purposefully contaminated. Johnson & Johnson's management made a conscious decision to forego short term revenues (and indeed, incur short term losses) by issuing a full product recall. Johnson & Johnson's decision gave it a significant boost in the eyes of its stakeholders for acting in the best interests of its consumers (Tucker & Melewar, 2005).

However, leadership is not only important for reputation management during times of crisis. Forman and Argenti (2005) provide other examples of where reputation has been managed by structuring the corporate communication function to be directly controlled by the CEO. The example they provide is of Accenture, which had the communications unit report directly to the CEO. Hence, the CEO had responsibility for rebranding and repositioning the organisation away from its parent company, Arthur Andersen.

Whilst structure is perhaps the most visible expression of an organisation's efforts to manage its reputation, it is based heavily on organisational culture. Culture is defined by Schein (1985, p.6) as

‘the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organisation, that operate unconsciously, and that define in a basic ‘taken-for-granted’ fashion an organisation’s view of itself and its environment. These assumptions and beliefs are learned responses to a group’s problems of survival in its external environment and its problems of internal integration. They come to be taken for granted because they solve those problems repeatedly and reliably’.

Organisational culture plays a key role in reputation management. Strong cultural values have been shown to guide managers by justifying strategies for interacting with key stakeholders (Miles & Cameron, 1982; Porac & Thomas, 1990). Fombrun and van Riel (1998) suggest that firms with strong and coherent cultures are more likely to attend carefully to how key audiences feel about them. Flatt and Kowalczyk (2000, p.356) also conclude that ‘when external observers assess a company’s reputation, they may be rating them on some of the same attributes that we use to describe a company’s culture’.

Neef (2005) suggests that organisations with a good reputation will have built a culture where its values are understood by all and are integral to its day-to-day operations. This comes through once again in the example of Royal Dutch / Shell, where management made efforts to align culture to its reputational management aims. In particular, the decision was made to adopt ‘everyday excellence’ as a core value, with all Shell employees being given a stake in achieving it (Fombrun & Rindova, 2000).

Reputation Management Through Cultural Artifacts

Culture and structure are built on visible physical objects, patterns of behaviour, and abstract theatrical productions. These bases of culture are known as artifacts. An artifact is a pathway of action, in that it prompts behaviours and decisions. Gagliardi (1990, p.3) defines an artifact as, '(a) a product of human action which exists independently of its creator; (b) intentional, it aims, that is, at solving a problem or satisfying a need; (c) perceived by the senses, in that it is endowed with its own corporality or physicality'. Symbols, myths, language, rituals, ceremonies, and settings are all organisational artifacts, and hence they form the pathways to action by which an organisation manages its reputation.

Turning firstly to symbols, we can see that a symbol is 'something that 'stands for', or signifies something beyond the liberal properties of the symbol itself' (Sims, Fineman, & Gabriel, 1993, p.299). Putnam, Phillips, and Chapman (1996, p.386) discuss deeper underlying contexts of symbols:

'Symbols are complex signs in that they suggest cultural, historical, or political interpretations; that is, they go beyond signalling a political response, like a traffic light indicating stop. The meaning of a symbol is typically rooted in cultural significance, for example, an emblem that represents the values and history of a nation'.

Symbols are not just logos or designs, they may also be actions, relationships, or linguistic formulations whose strength lies in their ability to evoke emotions and impel people to action (Cohen, 1976, p.23). This is based on a view of social cognition as a symbolic process, in which information is socially related to what is already known (Sims, Gioia, & Associates, 1985).

Myths have meanings. Typically they are based on embellished accounts of an organisation's history and are used to galvanise morale and strengthen group cohesion (Sims et al., 1993, p.274). Myths are related by Sims et al (1985) to rituals, by which they refer to group sharing activities such as stories, mission statements, and

Christmas parties. Rituals serve as communicative acts which make public the private values of a group, and play an important role in maintaining an organisation's infrastructure (Putnam et al., 1996).

Language is the final artifact used by organisations to manage unobtrusive power. Bruner (1986, p.64) says, 'we create realities by warning, by encouraging, by dubbing with titles, by naming, and by the manner in which words invite us to create 'realities' in the world to correspond with them. Constitutiveness gives an externality and an apparent ontological status to the concepts words embody'. Czarniawska-Joerges and Joerges (1990) identify three verbal tools used to build shared meaning, these being labels, metaphors and platitudes. Labels classify and tell what things are, metaphors give life and say how things are, whilst platitudes establish what is normal (Czarniawska-Joerges & Joerges, 1990).

These artifacts are the bases of culture and structure. Hence, they are central to the organisation's efforts to manage reputation. However, in order to manage the meaning of organisational stakeholders, these artifacts must be communicated externally. Hence, 'communication functions as the creation, maintenance, and transformations of meanings' (Putnam et al., 1993, p.386).

Organisational communication can be considered as the most visible of an organisation's reputational management efforts. This is due to two elements of reputation previously discussed. The first of these is with regard to Gotsi and Wilson's (2001) definition of reputation as a 'stakeholder's overall evaluation of a company over time'. Fombrun (1996) attributes a company's strong reputation to its ability to project image or identity such that stakeholders will build a reputational halo around the company's name or activities. This sums up the objective for an organisation. The fact stakeholders subjectively assess an organisation's reputation means the organisation will attempt to actively manage reputation through its communications. Fombrun believes it is the task of the organisation to shape these thoughts and words through their communications. Hence, studies such as those undertaken by Forman and Argenti (2005) demonstrate how organisations such as Accenture and Johnson & Johnson utilised corporate communications to reach a wide spectrum of stakeholders and enhance reputation.

The second element of reputation which effectively emphasises the organisation's need for effective communication as a means of building reputation is contained in the understanding of reputation as legitimacy.

Communication often takes centre stage in an organisation's response to a reputational crisis. This is apparent in Royal Dutch / Shell's response to crises it faced through its proposal to sink the Brent Spar oil drilling platform, and its alleged complicity with human rights abuses in Nigeria. The decision by Shell as a consequence of these developments was to work to become the 'World's Most Admired Corporation' (Fombrun & Rindova, 2000). In order to attain this goal, a reputation management system was institutionalised throughout the organisation. A key component of this system was improved communications through new detailed reports, as outlined by one of Shell's top officers, Corr Herkstroter in 1999:

'We are responding to increasing public interest in Shell companies' activities by developing our reporting... the first Group Health Safety and Environment (HSE) report was issued last year – as well as separate reports from the main businesses. This year's Group report will include improvement targets against which future progress can be measured. In addition we will be presenting the contribution Shell companies make to economic, social, and environmental progress in the new Shell report' (*in* Fombrun & Rindova, 2000).

Hence, organisational communication can be seen as central to reputation management on two levels – firstly as a tool to transfer information to groups of stakeholders, and secondly as legitimising an organisation's actions in the eyes of its constituencies. This communication can take many forms including annual reports, press releases, media interviews and direct stakeholder correspondence.

The above discussion gives a broad overview of how reputation is managed in organisations. The most visible management efforts are undertaken through corporate communication. However, communication efforts are likely to prove futile in the

management of reputation unless they are complemented by fundamentally shared values and processes across the organisation. This includes aligning strategy to values, and incorporating these values into organisational culture. It also means creating a structure for incorporating reputation management into everyday organisational practices, and linking this structure to top leadership.

The Central Research Question

From all the debate so far, it is clear that there are two key continuing debates in the reputation literature. The first of these is, how is reputation measured; and the second is, how is reputation managed? A positivistic approach to reputational research would probably link these as part of the same problem, based on a belief that successful reputation management outcomes cannot be managed unless they can be measured. However, I have adopted an interpretivist stance in this thesis, and hence emphasise the subjectivity of the notion and the way it is constructed across an organisation's constituencies. This has ramifications for the development of the thesis question, as will now be discussed.

In order to introduce the thesis question, it is important to return to the reputation dilemma as posed by Rindova. This dilemma is worth repeating:

‘on the one hand, they [reputations] are considered assets that are owned and managed by firms; on the other hand, they are perceptions of observers – perceptions over which firms have relatively limited control’ (1997).

This immediately raises many concerns for organisations. If reputations are held in the perceptions of observers, then is there anything an organisation can do to proactively manage its reputation? Thus, the manner in which organisations manage their reputation becomes an overriding concern, and hence, a key point of interest in this thesis. Therefore, the research will attempt to look at issues of reputation management as practised in modern organisations.

An effective way of analysing reputation management in organisations is through analysis of a case organisation or case organisations. This necessitates a decision in which the researcher weighs up the potential value in studying one case in depth, as opposed to studying a number of cases for comparative purposes.

Given the undoubted intricacies of reputation management, and many of the contextual issues surrounding its practice in organisations, there is potentially great value in exploring a single case. Even though findings from a single case may be difficult to generalise to a population of organisations, there remains significant potential to generalise to the theory of reputation through a single case. Yin (1994) provides three circumstances in which the selection of a single case can be justified. Of these, the most pertinent to the study in this thesis is the extreme or unique case – whereby the case is worthy of study because its very documentation and analysis has the potential to illuminate theory and provoke future research. In keeping with other single cases which investigate the ‘how’ of reputation management, such research would need to analyse an organisation whose reputation was constructedly good, such as Johnson & Johnson (Tucker & Melewar, 2005; Forman & Argenti, 2005), or whose reputation was constructedly bad, such as Nestle (Forman & Argenti, 2005), Nike (Boje, 2001), or Enron (Boje, Rosile, Durant, & Luhman, 2004).

The decision was made to study an organisation whose reputation was constructedly ‘good’. This organisation is The Salvation Army in Australia. The justification of that decision is presented in the next section.

Thus, we can now formulate the central thesis question as ‘how does The Salvation Army manage reputation?’ However, as has been discussed, there is a complication here. Rindova (1997) notes that reputations are held in the eyes of stakeholders, and Saxton (1998) is more explicit in stating that reputation is ‘the reflection of an organisation over time as seen through the eyes of its stakeholders and expressed through their thoughts and words’. It has been seen that organisations will try to manage reputation by managing meaning, such that its stakeholders will construct the organisation’s actions as both legitimate and good. This use of unobtrusive power to manage meaning for stakeholders is a key area of interest in this thesis. Hence, the need for an addition to the question. The central research question therefore becomes:

How is reputation managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders?

This question is worthy of consideration on a number of levels. Firstly, it aims to conduct investigation which will, in the words of Fombrun and van Riel (1997, p.5) ‘provide well-reasoned and defensible answers to questions about corporate reputation and reputational dynamics’. The reputational dynamics of reputation management are central to the aims of this work. Furthermore, the research aims to look at an organisation with a reputation argued to be constructedly good – that being The Salvation Army in Australia. The efforts of this organisation in managing reputation across a broad range of stakeholders have the potential for generalisability to reputation theory, and this means the research question poses a potentially useful avenue of social inquiry. A brief overview of the case and outline of the thesis will now be presented.

Reputation Management in the Salvation Army

Utilising the framework of Rindova and Fombrun (1999), it can be argued that The Salvation Army in Australia has not only been constructed by stakeholders as having a positive reputation, but there is strong evidence to support the assertion that this reputation has been constructed as superior to competitors. This is based on evidence that The Salvation Army receives significant resource allocations, has been defined by individual stakeholders as successful, and that there has been an industry paradigm constructed which views The Salvation Army as superior to its competitors. In short, it is an industry leader. In the terms of Rindova and Fombrun (1999), it can be said that these stakeholder constructions have led to The Salvation Army having a competitive advantage in the charity industry in Australia. Before outlining this argument, it is first of all necessary to outline the types of typical stakeholders faced by nonprofit organisations, and to provide a brief overview of the charity industry in Australia.

The Salvation Army competes in the charity industry in Australia. Chapter Three provides a more in-depth profile of the evolution and development of this industry,

but at this stage it is enough to say that the charity industry in Australia is highly competitive, with a high rate of new entrants clamouring for a limited pool of resources. Governments in the past twenty years have had a history of devolving away from the provision of social services, and this has increased the onus on nonprofit organisations to deal with the shortfall. In combination with this, there has typically been a greater level of public scrutiny placed on nonprofit firms than on private firms (Ritchie, Swami, & Weinberg, 1999).

Hence, the charity industry in Australia displays characteristics which would make the management of reputation a vital function of success. In particular, the nonprofit firm must endeavour to manage meaning across its full spectrum of stakeholders. However, the stakeholders of nonprofit organisations are different to those of private companies. Ritchie et al (1999) identify four key publics of nonprofit organisations, these being clients, donors, volunteers, and government. It can be argued that all of these groups have constructed the Salvos as having a good reputation.

Turning firstly to resource allocations, The Salvation Army receives large financial contributions from both donors and governments. The following figures come from the 2004/05 Salvation Army Annual Report (Salvation Army, 2005). In the 2004/05 financial year, the Salvos received a total of \$111,833,000 in donations. These include almost \$57.5 million in donations to the annual Red Shield Appeal, a figure which was boosted by increased levels of support from all states and territories. Donations from the general public to Salvation Army Stores alone created an income stream of \$53 million.

The total level of income from the Southern Territories (Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, and the Northern Territory) was \$359.7 million, with approximately \$205 million of this coming from government subsidies. From a financial perspective this is a significant increase. In 2001/02, 54 per cent of The Salvation Army's income was derived from Commonwealth, State, and Territory governments (Salvation Army, 2002), compared with 55 per cent in 2004/05. This may not seem significant, but the raw figures prove otherwise. Whilst in 2001 government grants and funding represented income to The Salvation Army of \$120 million, this figure had nearly doubled by 2004/05. This suggests a consistent and

growing commitment from Governments around Australia to The Salvation Army's charity programs.

It can also be seen that some of Australia's largest corporations have constructed The Salvation Army as being successful. Some of the organisations recognised as having made a significant financial contribution to the Salvos include: Adelaide Bank, Adelaide Football Club, Alinta Limited, AXA Asia Pacific Holdings Limited, Channel 9, CSR, Ford Motor Company of Australia, Goldman Sachs JB Were Limited, Government of South Australia, Government of Victoria, Government of Western Australia, JB Hi-Fi, KPMG Foundation, Mallesons Stephen Jacques, Myer Community Fund, National Australia Bank, Orica, Qantas Airways Ltd, Shell Company of Australia Ltd, State Government of Tasmania, Toll Priority, Tower Trust Limited, UBS Investment Bank, Westpac Banking Corporation, Woodside Energy Limited, and Worley Parsons. This is a formidable list, and indeed contains some of Australia's largest corporations in terms of market capitalisation.

This total income for The Salvation Army is then spent on a wide variety of services: aged care and disability support, employment education and training, family stores, homelessness and domestic violence support, individual and family support, children and young people at risk, addictions and substance abuse support, and administration and research. Across Australia, the organisation assists 1.5 million people – an amount almost certainly higher than any other non-profit organisation.

It may also be asserted that an industry paradigm has been constructed by groups of stakeholders which identifies The Salvation Army as an industry leader. This is apparent from the enormous levels of funding received from governments and donors, as well as the wide availability of volunteers to assist with Salvation Army welfare programs.

In the case of governments, financial provisions are not the only sources of evidence that there is a widespread acknowledgement of the positive reputation of The Salvation Army in the public sphere. Much responsibility has been placed on the Salvos by various governments. For instance, the Federal Government has placed two Salvationists as Chairs of important government taskforces. Major Brian Watters has

been a very public face of the Drug and Alcohol Taskforce, whilst Captain David Eldridge is Chairman of the Youth Pathways Action Plan Taskforce. At a state level, the Tasmania state government decided in the late 90's to appoint The Salvation Army as landlord of 200 Housing Division homes, a decision described by Hobart's *The Mercury* (1998) newspaper as having 'irresistible appeal and sound logic'.

In terms of donors The Salvation Army enjoys a very positive reputation. It is largely recognised as Australia's leading charity fundraiser (O'Keeffe & Partners, 2001; Brook, 2002). Further to this, a Newspoll survey (2002) suggests that The Salvation Army enjoys significant positive benefits over competing charities. When respondents in Sydney and Melbourne were asked to identify the charity to whom they would most likely donate \$20, The Salvation Army was supported by 37 per cent of respondents. This put the Salvos well ahead of rival charities such as the Cancer Council (20%), Red Cross (14%), the Smith Family (7%), and the Blind Society (7%). A final important point to be made is that despite periods of recession and economic unease, the National Red Shield Appeal has never failed to reach its financial target (Cleary, 1993). In this sense, it can be said that The Salvation Army's reputation is positive among the general population.

The Salvation Army also attracts a large number of volunteers to assist in the delivery of their programs. These volunteers assist, amongst other things, in distributing children's toys at Christmas, provide service at Salvation Army Family Stores, listening to people with problems on the Salvo Care Line, doorknocking, and fundraising. Volunteers represent a very important part of The Salvation Army's charitable efforts.

Hence, the Salvos enjoy a constructed position as industry leader. This is broadly apparent from the levels of support the organisation enjoys from donors, government, and volunteers. How this reputation is managed across these stakeholders, as well as the media and Salvationists themselves is the research focus of this work. It is now time to provide a brief outline of the thesis.

The Outline of The Thesis

This thesis examines reputation management in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders. Chapter One has argued that The Salvation Army in Australia enjoys a positive reputation as the leader in the charity industry. How this reputation is managed becomes the focus of inquiry for the thesis.

Chapter Two outlines the strategy of research adopted. In particular, it seeks to achieve two objectives. Firstly, an outline is presented of the investigation of the case, with discussion centred on detailing how research material was collated. Secondly, an overview of the strategy to analyse this case is presented. It is argued that the constructed case represents a hegemonic narrative of The Salvation Army. This narrative represents a conglomeration of the artifacts of unobtrusive power – these being symbols, myths, language, rituals, ceremonies, and settings. Hence the task is to determine where the power lies in the narrative such that an explanation can be made of how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army. This analysis will take place through a strategy of deconstruction, the steps of which are outlined.

Chapter Three provides two types of context to the case. Firstly, it provides a context for The Salvation Army's action in the charity industry. This is done by examining the philosophy behind the involvement of Christian organisations in the provision of social welfare. The argument is made that Christian organisations seek to undertake virtuous practices, based on an understanding developed by St Thomas Aquinas in the 12th Century that virtuous action was the key to living a good life. Secondly, this chapter provides context by constructing an understanding of the charity industry in Australia. It is argued that notions of welfare in Australia have long been based on providing assistance only to those deemed as 'deserving poor'. This has created a large role for charity organisations as they struggle to bridge a gap in welfare assistance. However, this role has become more prominent in the last twenty years as successive Federal and State Governments have adopted a neoliberal philosophy which has led to the outsourcing of social services to welfare organisations.

Chapter Four presents an historical analysis of The Salvation Army as based on secondary material written by Salvationist authors. The aim of this chapter is to

further contextualise the research. An outline of events considered to be significant to the development of the modern day Salvation Army is traced from its founding in East London in the 1860's, through to its work in the trenches with the troops in World War I and II, and the establishment of the Red Shield Appeal in the 1960's. An overview of The Salvation Army is presented according to the elements of unobtrusive power as articulated by Hardy (1985), these being structure, leadership, strategy, symbols, myths, ceremonies, settings, and rituals.

Work in Chapter Five seeks to identify the plausibility of the history constructed in Chapter Four. This is achieved by personal interviews with four Salvationists, and secondary material from one other Salvationist. This seeks to achieve three objectives. Firstly it adds a modern day context to the history constructed in Chapter Four. Secondly, it serves to partially determine the relevance of the history constructed. Finally, it provides an insight into reputation management of internal stakeholders.

Chapter Six looks at the constructions of three other groups of stakeholders – the media, volunteers, and corporate donors. This analysis is undertaken by initially presenting a lens for understanding the relationship between the media and The Salvation Army as constructed from an interview with The Salvation Army's Public Relations Officer for Tasmania. An overview of newspaper articles on The Salvation Army from Tasmania's *The Mercury* between 1993 and 2005 is then presented. A personal interview with a volunteer for The Salvation Army is also presented, as well as analysis of telephone interviews held with representatives of six corporations who donate funds to The Salvation Army in Australia. The aim of this chapter is once again to determine consistency with Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter Seven uses the work from Chapters Three, Four, Five, and Six to undertake deconstruction analysis of narrative in The Salvation Army. It is argued that the power in this narrative stems from a central dichotomy which characterises Salvationists as saved believers, and all others as damned non-believers. The strength of this dichotomy is evident in several ways. It can be shown to privilege Salvationists and characterise them as only being capable of undertaking caring and compassionate deeds in an honest and truthful fashion. It can also be shown to silence the voices of groups who hold negative accounts of The Salvation Army. Thus, this chapter

explores the power in The Salvation Army narrative in a bid to begin to construct an understanding of how The Salvation Army manages its reputation.

Chapter Eight draws the information from the course of the thesis to construct an answer to the central thesis question. It is argued that The Salvation Army manages its reputation through the deliberate use of a powerful and hegemonic narrative. This narrative is effective on three levels. Firstly, it provides an impetus for Salvation Army action in the areas of welfare assistance and evangelism. Secondly, the narrative provides a reputational barrier for The Salvation Army in that it frames an understanding which averts the gaze of key stakeholders. Finally, the narrative serves as a communicative tool, aided by the understanding it has framed for stakeholders, such that stakeholders feel compelled to provide resources to the Salvos.

Finally, Chapter Nine reiterates the argument of the thesis. The theory developed during analysis is defended as fitting Weick's (1989) characterisation of a plausible theory, and suggestions are made for areas of further research.

CHAPTER TWO – THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

Introduction

The Research Strategy Chapter in this thesis represents what is more commonly referred to as the Method. The reasons behind the subtle distinction will be outlined in due course. Suffice to say however that the intention in this chapter is to provide an overview of how the case was constructed and studied, as would be the case in a traditional method chapter. The chapter initially details the adopted ontological and epistemological stance. It is then argued that reputation is a subjective phenomenon, based on perceptions. Hence, the research adopts a constructivist approach to study. An outline is then presented of how the case was built, concentrating on the sources of information and how these were assimilated into a whole.

Following this, an analysis of the case is outlined. A narrative approach to the study is adopted. This is based on two arguments. Firstly, it is argued that the circumstances in which data was collected have led to the construction of a hegemonic narrative of The Salvation Army. Secondly, it is argued that narrative represents a perfect mechanism for the study of reputation because it embodies the aggregation of artifacts of unobtrusive power such as symbols, myths, rituals, language, ceremonies and settings. Hence, the key to determining how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army is to trace the power of its hegemonic narrative so as to expose the method through which meaning is managed across multiple stakeholders. The process used to undertake this task is a strategy of deconstruction. Deconstruction is then defined, and the steps used to analyse the narrative outlined. Finally, the roles of the researcher and reader in this work are outlined.

Ontological and Epistemological Perspective

In order to discuss the strategy employed in the course of this thesis, it is important first of all to describe the ontological and epistemological positions adopted. That is, what assumptions were made about the essence of the phenomena under investigation, and how are these then to be understood by, and communicated to the reader? To use

the terms of Burrell and Morgan (1975), which mode of theorizing was adopted, and what *modus operandi* was employed?

Studies of organisation are based on a philosophy of science. This philosophy will have repercussions for the methods which the investigator may use to research the social world. Two assumptions are key. The first are ontological assumptions – concerning the essence of the phenomena of investigation. The second are epistemological assumptions – concerning how knowledge is gained and communicated.

Ontological considerations concern ‘reality’. Guba and Lincoln phrase the question researchers must ask as, ‘what is the form and nature of reality, and therefore what is there that can be known about it?’ (1994, p.108). Burrell and Morgan (1979) base understanding of these questions on a subjective-objective dimension, with researchers treating the nature of reality as being anything from a hard, external, objective reality, to a subjective world based on the experience of individuals.

Epistemological considerations concern how researchers may begin to understand the world and how to communicate this knowledge to others (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Guba and Lincoln assert that researchers must understand, ‘what is the nature between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?’ (1994, p.108). This answer will be constrained by the response to the ontological question, with epistemological beliefs being based on a subjective-objective dimension of anti-positivism–positivism. Positivist epistemologies are based on the assumed existence of an objective reality, in which researchers attempt to verify hypotheses. Anti-positivists base understanding on a relativistic comprehension of the social world, with the aim being to understand the point of view of individuals involved in the environment being studied (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

Burrell and Morgan’s (1979) *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* remains a vital piece of literature for all researchers engaged in social inquiry. This is despite acknowledged critiques by Clegg (1982), Jackson and Carter (1993), and Donaldson (1985). However, Burrell and Morgan’s (1979) broad treatise, that the sociological field is comprised of multiple paradigms, seems to receive broad

acceptance in the literature (Martin & Frost, 1996; Burrell, 1996; Clegg & Hardy, 1996; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

A paradigm is essential to scientific inquiry. This is because ‘no natural history can be interpreted in the absence of at least some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation, and criticism’ (Khun, 1962, pp.16-17). A paradigm is what provides this intertwined theoretical and methodological belief by binding scientific communities to their discipline. This is perpetuated by the human life cycle (Burrell, 1996) in that mentors will develop their students to be committed to the same rules and scientific practice as they themselves are. Hence, paradigms bind scientific communities in creating avenues of inquiry, formulating questions, selecting methods for examining the questions, defining areas of relevance, and establishing and creating meaning (Pajares, 2006).

Burrell and Morgan (1979) identify four paradigms, which they label the functionalist paradigm, interpretivist paradigm, radical structuralist paradigm, and radical humanist paradigm. They argue that these paradigms lie behind all types of social inquiry. Guba and Lincoln (1994) provide a list of forms of social inquiry which link with the four paradigms, these being positivism (functionalist paradigm), postpositivism (radical structuralist), critical theory (radical humanist), and constructivism (interpretivist). The method adopted will be based on the paradigmatic stance taken. The types of method appropriate to a particular form of social inquiry are listed in table 2.1 (overleaf):

Table 2.1: Basic Beliefs of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.109)

Item	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical Theory et al	Constructivism
Ontology	Naive realism – ‘real’ reality but apprehendable	Critical realism – ‘real’ reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values, crystallised over time	Relativism – local and specific constructed realities
Epistemology	Dualist/objectivist; findings true	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true	Transactional/subjectivist, value-mediated findings	Transactional/subjectivist; created findings
Methodology	Experimental/manipulative; verification of hypotheses, chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/manipulative, critical multipism; falsification of hypotheses, may include qualitative methods	Dialogic/dialectical	Hermeneutical/dialectical

In this thesis, a constructivist approach is adopted. This is because the work is based on reputation, which is argued to be a social construction. The phenomenon for investigation in this thesis is the social construct of reputation. What is meant by this idea of social construction? Berger and Luckmann (1966) in their treatise ‘*The Social Construction of Reality*’, consider knowledge, and what is ‘real’ to be the product of individual and social cognitions, rather than some external reality as such. Thus they argue, what is ‘real’ to a Tibetan monk, may not be ‘real’ to an American businessman, and the context in which such realities are generated and become knowledge are key elements of sociological enquiry. Therefore, the sociology of knowledge is ‘concerned with the analysis ‘of the social construction of reality’ (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Treating reputation as a social construction makes sense on a number of levels, be it with regard to its antecedents, or its conceptualization as an intangible resource. This understanding of the term has important consequences for both how the case is studied and analysed.

Turning firstly to the historical antecedents of reputation – *kleos* and *reputare* – it can be argued that they are constructions. Considering the most famous expressions of

kleos, *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, we can see that the reputations upon which these tributes were based were constructions. The most obvious argument behind this is that Homer wrote these tributes some 600 years after the events had occurred (Jones, 2003). Writing did not exist in ancient Greek society for much of this 600-year period, and hence we have to assume that the stories were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth before Homer heard them. As each generation intersubjectively evaluated the life of a person such as Achilles and handed this evaluation to the next generation, they constructed an Ancient Greek hero. The notion of Achilles as a hero then became the 'true account' when Homer incorporated it into *The Iliad*.

The Latin word *reputare* more directly hints at the constructivist underpinnings of reputation through its very definition. This is due to its ancient Latin derivation from the words *putativus* and *putare*. Turning firstly to *putare*, it can be defined as 'to think', whilst *putativus* means 'supposed or purported' (Wiktionary, 2006). Hence, *reputare* means to think over supposed or purported aspects of a person. For such evaluation to be based on either supposed or purported aspects means that an evaluation is reached following consideration of the judgments of others. This is very nearly a model definition for constructed knowledge.

Considering now the definition of reputation as derived from Gotsi and Wilson (2001), it can be seen that reputation is 'a stakeholder's overall evaluation of a company over time'. However, this evaluation is only partially based on the stakeholder's direct experiences with the company. The evaluation is also dependent upon other communication and symbolism – information which may as easily come from constructed societal understandings of the organisation. For instance, how many of us have a direct understanding of the context of alleged worker exploitation by Nike in third world countries, and how many of us have constructed this reputation on the basis of newspaper and television reports without any direct personal knowledge? Gotsi and Wilson (2001) are not alone in defining reputation as being based on a constructed understanding. Fombrun and Shanley (1990) suggest reputation is the aggregation of information into 'collective judgments', while Weiss, Anderson, and McInnis (1999, p.75) define reputation as a 'global perception'.

Similarly, the RBV notion of reputation as an intangible resource lends itself to a constructivist understanding. Priem and Butler (2001) have criticized the RBV on a number of fronts, not least their belief that the notion of intangible resources as 'valuable' and 'rare' is vague and not empirically testable. Barney (2001) dismissed this criticism, but it remains the case that the notion of intangible resources is closely associated with subjectively constructed notions of value and uniqueness to an organisation.

This constructed notion of reputation is recognised even in the most commonly regarded quantitative evaluations of reputation, the Reputation Quotient (RQ). The RQ is based on what Fombrun, Gardberg and Server (2000) describe as the six pillars of reputation: corporate appeal, products and services, financial performance, vision and leadership, workplace environment, and social responsibility. However, many of these dimensions are elements of organisational activity over which stakeholders have little direct experience, and thus they will wait for a constructed understanding to emerge.

Hence, there are significant grounds for considering reputation as a socially constructed phenomenon. These include historically constructed reputational antecedents such as *kleos* and *reputare*, modern definitions of reputation which talk of global perceptions and refer to intangible resources, and the empirical RQ measure which examines among other things stakeholder perceptions of corporate appeal.

Based on an ontology of reputation as a socially constructed phenomena an interpretivist epistemology has been adopted. Burrell and Morgan (1975) describe such a stance as being necessarily nominalist, antipositivist, voluntarist, and ideographic in nature. Turning to each of these, this means that the interpretivist researcher views the social world as being structured by names, concepts, and labels, which are given reality through individual cognition. It is the task of the researcher therefore to provide an understanding of this social world. The next section therefore provides an overview of how the social world of The Salvation Army was investigated.

The Research

This work is a case study of The Salvation Army. Stake (2000) describes a case study not as a methodological choice, but as a choice of what is to be studied. Yin (1994) advocates that the decision as to whether to use a case study as the means of research should be based on the form of the research question, with 'how' and 'why' research questions being most suited to a form of case investigation. Given the central research question asks, 'how is reputation managed in the Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders', it can be seen that the research is suited to the undertaking of a case study.

The case of The Salvation Army is also a single case. Yin (1994) presents three rationales for undertaking single case study research. These are the critical case, the extreme or unique case, and the revelatory case. Justification exists to undertake a single critical case when the case meets all conditions for the testing of a theory. This occurs when 'the theory has specified a clear set of propositions as well as the circumstances within which the propositions are believed to be true' (Yin, 1994, p.38). The extreme or unique case occurs when a case situation is so rare that it is worth documenting. Finally, the revelatory case exists in a situation in which 'the investigator has access to a situation previously inaccessible to scientific observation. The case study is therefore worth conducting because the descriptive information alone will not be revelatory' (Yin, 1994, p.41).

In this instance, I present The Salvation Army as a revelatory case. This type of case is undertaken in instances whereby researchers are granted access to previously inaccessible social phenomena. The case of The Salvation Army is revelatory because from what can be determined, no one had previously chosen to study its reputation. Also, the list of studies of the organisation would seem to suggest it is an organisation which has previously been inaccessible to non-Salvationists. Certainly the historical studies performed seem to have been undertaken exclusively by Salvationists. Combined with the merits of The Salvation Army's reputation as constructed by the broader Australian society, the case has potential to be revelatory to the theory of reputation management.

However, the rationale of single case studies, as presented by Yin (1994) does little to advance understanding of how research into the case will be conducted. A more useful framework for beginning to construct such an understanding is presented by Stake (2000). In particular, he identifies two types of single case study – the intrinsic case study, and the instrumental case study. In the intrinsic case study, the case itself takes primacy. It is investigated because the researcher retains strong interest in the case. Hence, the purpose is not to build theory (although this may occur), but rather to tease out the full extent of a case in its contextual depth. In comparison, the instrumental case study is used by the researcher to facilitate understanding of something else, usually theory. The case then plays a supportive role to provide understanding of another interest. Research in the instrumental case still proceeds to look at the context of the case in depth.

In this research, I seek to provide an instrumental case of The Salvation Army. The attempt is to contextually describe The Salvation Army in Australia, but this is done with the purpose of pursuing generalisation to reputation management theory. Generalisability is defined as ‘the degree to which the findings are applicable to other populations or samples’ (Ryan & Barnard, 2000, p.787) – and in this instance, the research will be undertaken for the purpose of applying the findings to the population of reputation management theory.

The reasons for studying The Salvation Army have been discussed in Chapter One. However, to recap, there is significant evidence that stakeholders have constructed a position in which The Salvation Army are considered leaders in the charity industry. This is apparent through the resource flows which go to the Salvos. In the 2004/05 financial year the Salvos received almost \$112 million in donations from governments, corporations, and individuals (Salvation Army, 2005). In the Southern Territories, The Salvation Army received \$205 million in government subsidies (Salvation Army, 2005). Finally Newspoll surveys have shown The Salvation Army is the charity to whom most respondents would be most likely to donate \$20. It is figures such as these which mean The Salvation Army is recognised as Australia’s leading charity fundraiser (O’Keeffe & Partners, 2001; Brook, 2002).

As further discussed in Chapter One, organisations will seek to manage reputation through managing the meaning of their stakeholders. This unobtrusive power will reside in various organisational elements such as its structure and culture, symbols, language, myths and rituals, ceremonies, and settings. Hence, the case needs to demonstrate how these practices of reputation management have been applied in The Salvation Army across its broad groups of stakeholders, including donors, Salvationists, the media, and volunteers.

Providing a slightly more detailed overview than that at the conclusion of Chapter One, how is the case to be constructed in order to provide an answer to the central thesis question? Firstly, Chapter Three presents an overview of the charity industry in Australia. The aim of this chapter is to contextualise the research. Political and social contexts are vital to constructivist study because they frame the subjective understandings which individuals make of their environment. This is based on an understanding that ‘the terms by which the world is understood are social artifacts, products of historically situated interchanges among people’ (Gergen, 1985, p.267). The industry context is based exclusively on research from secondary resources, but from a number of sources to ensure consistency of understanding.

Chapter Four presents a history of The Salvation Army in Australia, although initially with a discussion of the founding of the organisation by William Booth in East London. Five main references were used to construct this history. These references were significant for two major reasons. Firstly, they were all prescribed on The Salvation Army website as representing important understandings of The Salvation Army’s history. Secondly, all of these references were authored by Salvationists, and hence were written by those who had lived portions of The Salvation Army’s history. This provided for a unique prism of understanding in that the history was constructed through the eye of the insider – thus allowing insights into culture and beliefs which may otherwise not have been possible.

To ensure Chapter Four presents a plausible history of the Salvos, Chapter Five attempts to construct an understanding of The Salvation Army from the perspective of modern day Salvationists. This chapter is based on three personal interview conducted with four subjects from The Salvation Army in Tasmania. One of these was a young

Salvationist aged twenty, two were in their mid sixties, and the other was in his eighties. The age differences were deliberately sought in the process of gaining interview subjects in order to determine consistency across generations. The work is supplemented by Henderson's (2005) biography of Major Joyce Hamer, a prominent modern day Salvationist in Australia.

Chapter Six presents an overview of media constructions of The Salvation Army. The first part of this chapter contains information elicited from The Salvation Army's Public Relations Officer in Tasmania. This provides a key lens for understanding how The Salvation Army builds relationships with media groups, and subsequently how media groups make their constructions of The Salvation Army. In constructing a more contemporary understanding of The Salvation Army in Australian society I then utilised 84 articles from *The Mercury* newspaper as published between 1993 and 2005. *The Mercury* is published in the Tasmanian capital, Hobart and is owned by the media conglomerate News Limited. The overwhelming majority of these stories are positive, but dissenting voices do appear. I also relied on Newspoll independent research into the brand, image, and recognition of The Salvation Army held by the general public to supplement my understanding. Chapter Six also looks at two different stakeholder groups, these being volunteers and donors. One volunteer was personally interviewed, and her thoughts and experiences with the Salvos outlined. A questionnaire was forwarded to corporations who donate to The Salvation Army, and interviews were then conducted via telephone. This chapter is used once again to substantiate the narrative, in particular looking at the perceptions of The Salvation Army held by external parties.

Stake (2000) describes narrative inquiry in the instance of a Case Study as letting the case tell its own story. This means the researcher decides what the case's own story is, as it is impossible to relate all the facets and intricacies of a case. The role of the researcher is therefore to select stories and to explain to the reader how these stories have been constructed and collected (Czarniawska, 2004). To begin to understand exactly what it means to undertake a narrative analysis of The Salvation Army, it is first necessary to explore the terms 'story' and narrative'.

Interviews formed a primary source of information for this thesis. Two types of interview were performed, these being face-to-face and telephone. Interviews in the face-to-face format were open-ended and semi-structured. That is, the respondent was encouraged to express an opinion, and the basis of these opinions could then be used to formulate new questions and avenues of inquiry. In this fashion, the subject became a respondent. As Yin (1994) notes, respondents are critical to the success of a case study because they provide insights into a matter and suggest sources of corroboratory evidence. Donors were interviewed in a more structured way, along the lines of a survey. Questions were open-ended, but there was no deviation from these questions to further avenues of inquiry. This allowed the views expressed to be considered a single component of the research.

In all, I undertook ten face-to-face interviews with a total of eleven subjects during the course of this work. These comprised 'retired' Salvos, young Salvos, working Salvos, and volunteers. There were a further six telephone interviews conducted with corporate donors to The Salvation Army. These interviewees represented a cross-section of major multinational corporations, large national organisations, and local businesses. Thus, the interviews represent a wide range of backgrounds and interests.

The result is a thesis which gathers multiple sources of information to construct a narrative of reputation management in The Salvation Army. This is known as triangulation (Jick, 1979). Triangulation allows for the findings to be based on a convergence of information from across different sources (Yin, 1994). This raises the question however, how is the data to be analysed, and how will the results be obtained? The answers to these questions will be provided in the next section.

Deconstruction of Narrative: Analysing The Narrative And Obtaining Results

As was argued in Chapter One, reputation management in organisations is about exercise of unobtrusive power (Hardy, 1985) such that the organisation manages the meaning of its stakeholders. This power can be exercised by the organisation through visible mechanisms of structure, leadership, strategy and culture. However, the key to utilising these methods is to develop artifacts such as myths, rituals, ceremonies, symbols, and language, upon which to base shared understandings and communicate

these to stakeholders. To analyse the unobtrusive power in an organisation it is therefore essential to analyse the key artifacts of unobtrusive power.

There may be many ways of performing such analysis, however it is argued that there is only one artifact in which all the residuals of unobtrusive power are communicated, and this is through the narrative of the organisation. As Putnam et al (1996, p.388) declare, 'the relationship between communication and organisation is one of production, with symbols producing texts'. Analysing the content of these organisational texts enables the researcher to investigate the metaphors, rites and rituals, and paradoxes and ironies of organisation which Putnam et al (1996) have discussed as residing in narrative.

Narrative has been shown to have many functions for an organisation, including to socialise new employees (Brown, 1985), to solve problems (Mitroff & Kilmann, 1976), to legitimate power relationships (Mumby, 1987; Witten, 1993), to enhance bonding and organisational identification (Kreps, 1989), and to reduce uncertainty (Brown, 1990). Most importantly, in the context of this research, organisations have also been demonstrated to enact narratives such that organisational meaning can be managed. An example is Geist and Hardesty (1990), who showed in their study of a hospital organisation that organisational members were able to share stories of quality care and challenge the hospital's political structures. Hence, reputation management in The Salvation Army will be analysed through the deconstruction of narrative.

Narrative represents a justifiable means of analysis in the study of reputation management. Recent debate in organisation studies has sought to emphasise narrative as a prominent tool in an organisation's strategic inventory (Barry & Elmes, 1997; Hardy, Palmer, & Phillips, 2000), and narrative studies have thus been used to add a new lens to the organisational studies literature (Hatch, 1994; O'Connor, 1995; Boje, 1995). Narrative is recognized as a means by which organisations convey meaning to stakeholders. Discourse, as represented in both text and voice, is both socially constituted and socially constitutive, 'as it produces objects of knowledge, social identities, and relationships between people' (Hardy et al., 2000, p.1231). Indeed, Barry and Elmes (1997) have presented an argument that the power of strategy lies in narrative. Hence, organisations will label actions as 'strategic' (as opposed to

‘financial’ or ‘operational’ for example) and highlight and link these actions in certain ways in order to ‘convince others that this is the way things have happened’ (Barry & Elmes, 1997, p.433). In this interpretation, narrative becomes an important strategic tool for organisations.

Returning to the discussion in Chapter One, a position was constructed in which it was argued that the key function of reputation management is to manage the meaning of stakeholders such that their impressions of an organisation will be considered both legitimate and positive. As Boje (1991, p.106) notes, ‘story-telling is the preferred sensemaking currency of human relationships among internal and external stakeholders’. Hence, narrative is key in managing the meaning of stakeholders, and thus is central to the organisation’s efforts to manage their reputation through the use of unobtrusive power. This is noted by Barry and Elmes (1997) who declare that narrative may fundamentally influence strategic choice and action, often in unconscious ways (Barry & Elmes, 1997).

Narratives are based on stories. Littlejohn (1999) notes the importance of stories to an organisation as a communicative tool. ‘Any communication is a sharing of stories. Most stories seem to cry out to be shared. And getting shared is perhaps the most profound function of stories. Stories are the stuff of communication. And the sharing of them is what transforms persons into communal beings’ (Littlejohn, 1999, p.161).

Story is defined by Ricoeur (1984, p.150) as:

‘A story describes a sequence of actions and experiences done or undergone by a certain number of people, whether real or imaginary. These people are presented either in situations that change or as reacting to such change. In turn, these changes reveal hidden aspects of the situation and the people involved, and engender a new predicament which calls for thought, action, or both. This response to the new situation leads the story toward its conclusion’.

This leads to some key assertions as to the nature of stories. Firstly, there is no 'whole' story. Stories are fragments. They are creations that rely on the context in which they are written, spoken, or acted. They then change as they are reconstructed in subsequent storytellings because their context undergoes change. The construction and reconstruction of each fragment is dependent on two factors. The first of these is the interpretation the storyteller places on what they have seen, heard, or participated in. Multiple interpretations may be created by all involved in a story – each interpretation differing according to the actor's thoughts, beliefs, and self-interest. This is demonstrated by Boje et al (1999) whose research concluded that researchers, members of the Choral Company which they researched, and reviewers of the *Journal of Management Inquiry* all told stories close to their own hearts.

The second factor is that stories refer to stories outside themselves. This is because stories are infinitely contextual. Stories have a time, a place, and a mind (TwoTrees, 1997). TwoTrees (1997) argues that it is death to change a story or to tell it wrongly. This is because a story cannot be separated from its context and still convey the same sense of time, place, and mind. As Foucault (1972, p.92) recognises 'there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualise others'. As discursive elements shift in emphasis and priority (Jameson, 1981) during an organisation's history, so too do the sources and influences of stories become lost (Barthes, 1977).

Thus, stories are polyphonic (multi-voiced) (Boje, 2001), polysemous (many interpretations), and infinitely intertextual (referring to stories outside themselves) (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). As such, stories are chaotic, and contain only fragments of understanding of a situation. To overcome this fragmentation, and in order to produce outcomes that are beneficial to them (Hardy et al., 1998), organisations produce narrative.

Narrative comes after story. The power in narrative lies in its ability to add coherence to stories. Voices, interpretations, and other stories are lost, because the plot in narrative places a structure on the stories which causes them to lose much of their original meaning. Hence, narratives can 'suppress, complement, or outweigh' earlier accounts (Gardner, 1995).

In defining narrative, we can begin to understand how it can be effective as a tool for exercising unobtrusive power. Narrative is:

‘A form of meaning making... Narrative recognizes the meaningfulness of individual experiences by noting how they function as parts of the whole. Its particular subject matter is human actions and events that affect human being, which it configures into wholes according to the roles these actions and events play in bringing about a conclusion’ (Polkinghorne, 1988, p.36).

What can be inferred from Polkinghorne’s definition is that narrative constructs themes and plots in order to configure actions and events into wholes. Narratives have plots and plot-lines. They eliminate the competing voices which seek to disrupt or unbalance the plot. They put coherence across the fragments of stories and attempt to create a semblance of order. They camouflage meaning and by their very structure they contain power. This may mean exclusion of some stories and overemphasis on others in order to construct meaning. Hence, organisations engage in discursive activity, through means such as narrative, to pursue their plans and projects (Hardy et al., 2000; Hardy, Lawrence, & Phillips, 1998).

Indeed, the notion that stories may be used to influence perceptions of external stakeholders is noted by Boje, Adler, and Black (2005, p.39) in their discussion of Enron Corporation. They declare that ‘Enron used simple dramatic presentations of accurate information to complex theatrical spectacles to affect how external decision-makers accurately or inaccurately interpreted the information’. Hence, they present the story of when the Enron Executive Committee in 1999 proposed the company’s new motto be ‘the coolest company on Earth’. The response of then-Chairman Kenneth Lay was that he believed Enron should wrap its headquarters in a giant pair of sunglasses’ (Boje, Driver, & Cai, 2005).

Narratives are by their very nature hegemonic. That is, they dominate and gain power from being masked, taken for granted, and otherwise invisible (Gramsci, 1971). This is particularly the case with regard to organisations – which strategically ‘restory’

themselves by losing track of some stories, revising others, and putting new emphasis on different parts of their history (Boje, 1991, p.343). In particular, Boje (1995) and Boje and Rosile (2003) have examined the Disney and Enron corporations to examine the way stories have been manipulated to present the reputation of the organisation in a positive light to stakeholders.

Narrative is unique to organisations in that it is likely to contain elements of all the other artifacts used by organisations to exercise unobtrusive power. For instance, narrative is important in that it links to cultural and historical contexts (Smirich & Stubbart, 1985), and it is these contexts upon which language, rituals, myths, and ceremonies are based. More explicitly, Barry and Elmes (1997) argue that narrative provides referral to archetypal figures and motifs in the organisation such as heroes, martyrs, and wanderers – all of which may be considered as forms of organisational myth and metaphor. Hence, narrative represents the accumulation of all aspects of the organisation's attempts to manage meaning for its stakeholders, and as such they represent an ideal form of analysis of issues of reputation management.

Constructing a Narrative of The Salvation Army

In order to analyse reputation management in The Salvation Army, a case study was constructed. Based on the stories and research material to which I was granted access I argue that this case study reflects the hegemonic narrative of The Salvation Army. This is apparent from the way in which stories for the research were collected.

This case was undertaken with the full support of John Dalziel (Communications Director, Southern Territory) and Stuart Foster (Public Relations Officer, Tasmania). These men are significant to the corporate side of The Salvation Army in the Southern Territories (covering the Australian States and Territories of Western Australia, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and the Northern Territory), and both bring a lifetime of involvement with The Salvation Army to the organisation. They were aware that my aim was to study reputation management in The Salvation Army. Stuart Foster's role was critical. With the exception of the corporate donors to whom I spoke, he determined the identity of all my interview subjects and made initial contact with them. In the case of the corporate donors, the list of organisations identified to take

place in the questionnaire were selected by David Agnew (Fundraising and Gifts Director, Southern Territory). In the instance of both the corporate donor interviews, and all other interviews, David Agnew and Stuart Foster vetted my questions before discussion with the interview subject respectively. Thus, the control exercised by The Salvation Army in framing this work was significant.

The control of the interview process made it difficult to find voices which had been suppressed, alienated, or distanced by The Salvation Army. However, there were three other factors which significantly reduced the opportunity to find negative voices. Firstly, those likely to have been disadvantaged by The Salvation Army through programs of forced adoption, or instances of abuse, are likely to have been traumatised by the experience. This is in keeping with the notion of a victim. Hence, the process of approval for such research would have been unlikely to receive approval from the University of Tasmania's Ethics Committee. Secondly, the process of finding such victims would have been difficult as most such victims are likely to be protected under Privacy Acts, and most probably other legislative rulings. A final consideration is that such research may have compromised Stuart Foster under the terms with which he had granted access to the Salvos as a case organisation.

This difficulty in itself demonstrated the effectiveness of The Salvation Army's reputation management – however, this is a discussion for later chapters. In the end it was possible to source two key pieces of work which took a negative view of The Salvation Army in Australia. The first was the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC's) television documentary *'The Homies'*, which studied allegations of physical, sexual, and mental abuse towards children in Salvation Army institutional care in the 1950's, 60's, and 70's. The second is a story which first appeared on Channel Nine's current affairs television program, *A Current Affair*, surrounding the decision of The Salvation Army to refuse a donation from swimsuit and lingerie model Sara-Jane.

Thus, the work can be seen to construct a hegemonic narrative of The Salvation Army. The overwhelming majority of information and interview material assimilated points towards an organisation which is held in high esteem by members of the Australian public. The way in which the research material was collated demonstrates construction of a narrative which follows the plot that The Salvation Army wanted to

have heard. The key therefore becomes to analyse the hegemonic narrative such that the sources of unobtrusive power become apparent, and we can begin to construct an understanding of how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army. To understand how the narrative is to be analysed, it is important to understand the role of the narratologist.

The Narratologist

A narratologist's role is defined as follows:

‘Narratologists deconstruct texts and examine individual narratives as a means of studying power relations and exploring how hegemonic storylines may reinforce prevailing stories and marginalize and suppress other voices’ (Cunliffe, Luhmann & Boje, 2004, p.264).

In order to investigate these hegemonic storylines, and in an effort to expose the unobtrusive power exercised by The Salvation Army, the narrative will be analysed through a strategy of deconstruction. The notion of deconstruction is attributed to French philosopher Jacques Derrida. He describes the strategy of deconstruction as, ‘I interpret, a way to understand micro-power’ and ‘what powers may be in such and such a context’ (1999, p.74). However, for philosophical reasons Derrida is reluctant to further define the notion. Thus, it is important to supplement this understanding with the views of others. Martin, offers a very clear definition of deconstruction when she describes it as:

‘an analytic strategy that exposes in a systematic way [the] multiple ways a text can be interpreted. Deconstruction is able to reveal ideological assumptions in a way that is particularly sensitive to suppressed interests of members of disempowered, marginalized groups’ (1990, p.340).

The notion is based on Derrida's belief that texts are not static, with reading and writing being based on factors such as events, birth, desire, supplement, absence,

forgetfulness, and closure (Payne, 1993). Thus narratives are not ideology neutral – they are ideological and seek to legitimate the empire building of leaders, nations, and organisations (Boje, 2001).

The task of the narratologist is therefore to uncover the ‘hidden’ power in narrative, and the multiple voices in stories. The strategy of deconstruction is therefore employed to strip the narrative of its power. Deconstructionist strategy:

- ‘a) aims to always subvert the meaning of a text, to show how its dominant and negotiated meanings can be opposed;
 - b) exposes the ideological and political meanings that circulate within the text, particularly those which hide or displace racial, ethical, class, ethnic, and gender biases; and,
 - c) analyses how texts address the problems of presence, lived experience, the real and its representations, and the issues of subjects, authors, and their intentionalities’
- (Schwandt, 1994, p.125).

Derrida is equally as vague on a method of deconstruction as he is on a definition. His only real guide is that he refuses to ascribe to the notion of a method of deconstruction, preferring instead to discuss the strategy of deconstruction. This is based on a notion of deconstruction as a ‘technique and philosophy of reading’ (Czarniawska, 2004, p.96). Thus deconstruction is considered as far more than a methodology, and contains profound implications for theory building and research in any field (Martin, 1990). Despite this, Boje (2001, p.21) presents eight strategies for story deconstruction. These have been described by Mockler (2004) as a useful way in to deconstruction analysis, and are based on Boje’s own reconstructions of Derrida’s thoughts and words. As I will employ most, if not all of these in my research, I present the table in its entirety. To reiterate however, these steps would not be supported by Derrida or Derridians, for whom deconstruction is not a method.

Table 2.2 Story Deconstruction Guidelines (Boje, 2001)

<div>1. Duality Search. Make a list of any bipolar terms, any dichotomies that are used in the story. Include the term even if only one side is mentioned. For example, in many male-centred and / or male-dominated organisation stories, men are central and women are marginal others. One term mentioned implies its partner.</div> <div>2. Reinterpret the hierarchy. A story is one interpretation or hierarchy of an event from one point of view. It usually has some form of hierarchical thinking in place. Explore and reinterpret the hierarchy (eg. In duality terms how one dominated the other) so you can understand its grip.</div> <div>3. Rebel voices. Deny the authority of the one voice. Narrative centers marginalize or exclude. To maintain a center takes enormous energy. What voices are not being expressed in this story? Which voices are subordinate or hierarchical to other voices (eg. Who speaks for the trees?)</div> <div>4. Other side of the story. Stories always have two or more sides. What is the other side of the story (usually marginalized, under-represented, or even silent?). Reverse the story, by putting the bottom on top, the marginal in control, or the back stage up front. For example, reverse the male-centre, by holding a spotlight on its excesses until it becomes a female center in telling the other side; the point is not to replace one center with another, but to show how each center is in a constant state of change and disintegration.</div> <div>5. Deny the plot. Stories have plots, scripts, scenarios, recipes and morals. Turn these around (move from romantic to tragic or comedic to ironic).</div> <div>6. Find the exception. Stories contain rules, scripts, recipes, and prescriptions. State each exception in a way that makes it extreme or absurd. Sometimes you have to break the rules to see the logic being scripted in the story.</div> <div>7. Trace what is between the lines. Trace what is not said. Trace what is the writing on the wall. Fill in the blanks. Storytellers frequently use 'you know that part of the story'. Trace what you are filling in. With what alternative way could you fill it in (ed. Trace to the context, the back stage, the between, the intertext)?</div> <div>8. Resituate. The point of doing 1 to 7 is to find a new perspective, one that resituates the story beyond its dualisms, excluded voices or singular viewpoint. The idea is to reauthor the story so that the hierarchy is resituated and a new balance of views is attained. Restory to remove the dualities and margins. In a resituated story there are no more centers. Restory to script new actions.</div>
--

Undertaking description of these steps is vital to providing a map of how the analysis of the narrative in this thesis will progress. Hence, the steps of Boje’s (2001) strategy of deconstruction are now presented, and each is explained in a level of detail.

Boje (2001) lists duality search as the first step in a strategy of deconstruction. Narratives are based on bipolar terms such as public / private, nature / culture, and male / female (Czarniawska, 2004). One of these terms will dominate the other in a narrative, even potentially in so far as excluding it. The first step in Boje's (2001) deconstruction strategy is to list the bipolar terms or dichotomies which are used in the narrative. Czarniawska (2004) presents the example of sordid gain and long-term planning as a typical dichotomy, with the first expression being negative and the second positive. Similarly, Kilduff's (1993) deconstruction of March and Simon's (1958) *Organizations* serves to illustrate a dichotomy of the employee as a machine and the employee as a decision maker. For the purposes of this work, the dichotomies will be presented in the narrative of The Salvation Army by answering the question, where are the dualities?

The logic of the duality search is to uncover the power centre of the narrative. In a duality, one term will take presence over another. This is frequently the case in organisation studies literature, which is typically male-centred (Martin, 1990). The search for duality allows the researcher to turn things upside down and make the oppressed side the dominating one (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). This is the second step in the strategy of deconstruction (Boje, 2001). Hence, having identified the dualities, the questions which provoke the next stage of analysis are, what are the effects of these dualities on the narrative? How might the narrative look different if the hierarchy was reversed?

Step three in Boje's (2001) strategy of deconstruction is to allow rebel voices to speak. Hence, at this stage the researcher attempts to hear the voices which have been marginalised or suppressed in the narrative. For instance, Martin (1990) identifies a public male and private female dichotomy in her study of a large multinational corporation. What she does is to reinterpret the hierarchy so that the private female dominates the public male. This involves replacing genders in narrative text. Hence, the sentence from the organisation Martin is studying, 'we have a young woman who is extraordinarily important to the launching of a major new product' becomes, 'we have a young man who is extraordinarily important to the launching of a major new product' (Martin, 1990, p.346).

Step four then utilises the voices of those who have been suppressed or marginalized to tell the other side of the story. At this stage in the research it is important to ask to whom in the narrative do the dominant voices belong? Also, whose voices are not heard? An example is Boje's (1995) analysis of Disney Corporation, in which he presents research which utilises stories of Roy Disney, a man whose voice is suppressed in official Disney accounts in favour of his brother Walt.

For instance, Boje (1995) tells the story of Roy Disney:

'Roy, now that Walt is gone, why don't you take some of the credit for the development of the studio since the early days? Roy stopped Jack with a hand on his arm and said, 'Let me tell you a story. When Walt and I first started in business, we had a little studio on Vermont Avenue – really a storefront, with a gold-leaf sign on the front window reading Disney Brothers Productions. As we prospered, we needed larger quarters and we found them in a building on Hyperion Avenue, close to our original store. One evening when Walt and I were discussing our move, Walt said to me, 'Roy when we move to Hyperion, I'm going to have a large neon sign erected, reading Walt Disney Studios, Home of Mickey Mouse and Silly Symphonies'. He looked at me as if expecting an argument. I said, if that's the way you want it'. And Walt said, 'That's the way I want it and that's the way it will be!' And that's the way it was. So you see, Jack, I think it's a little late now, and besides, that's the way Walt would have wanted it' (Boje, 1995).

It's at this point of the deconstruction strategy that the researcher asks what is marginalized or suppressed, and provides an outlet for these distanced voices. This then allows the researcher to ask how the narrative looks different when the suppressed and marginalized voices have been included.

Boje (2001) lists the fifth step of deconstruction as being to deny the plot. By this, it is recognised that the narrative seeks to increase credibility and mask subjectivities (Barry & Elmes, 1997). For this to occur, the narrative will impose plots and morals (Czarniawska, 2004). The key at this stage for the researcher is to ask what is the plot or moral of the narrative? The researcher is then able to see how the text looks different by denying the moral. Martin (1990) undertakes this task by removing a male power moral from the story of a pregnant woman. By replacing a pregnant woman in the text, with a man about to have a coronary bypass operation, she is able to identify the gender-specific components of the narrative, and thus further expose the power of the moral and its plot.

In the sixth step of Boje's (2001) strategy of deconstruction, the researcher looks for exceptions to the narrative. In this instance, the question to ask is, what are the exceptions to the rules implicit in the text? This will frequently involve relating intertextually to stories hinted at in the narrative. For example, Boje (1995) traces stories that strike at the heart of Disney Corporation's characterization of Walt Disney as a creative genius. He is able to identify the work of Kinney (1988, p.157) as alleging a set of drawings called 'the seven faces of Walt' circulating around the Disney Offices. In these drawings Disney was characterized as Simon Legree, Der Fuhrer, the Beautiful Angel, Mr Nice Guy, Ebenezer Scrooge, Beelzebub the Devil, and Mickey Mouse, with a dollar sign as the 's' in mouse. This step serves to expose the falsehood in the plot or moral – in this case, Disney narratives would characterise Walt Disney as Mr Nice Guy. However, Kinney (1988) demonstrates that we can trace other stories in which Walt Disney will be characterised very differently.

The final step in this research is to trace what is between the lines. At this point the researcher will ask how the text leaves the reader to fill in gaps. Silence is an important and powerful component of narratives, as Clair (1998, p.67) notes, 'silencing of groups of people may take on a multitude of forms... silence, may be achieved through coercion or hegemony'.

Boje (2001) considers a further step of resituating the story. The aim behind this is to move the story beyond its dualisms, hierarchies, centres, and margins. However, given this step has moved beyond analysis of the unobtrusive power in narrative, it

does little to help build an understanding of how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army. Hence, it will not form a step of deconstruction in this research.

To recap then, these are the question which will be asked at each stage of the deconstruction strategy:

Table 2.3 Deconstructing The Salvation Army Narrative

1.	<i>Duality Search</i> : What dichotomies are present in the text?
2.	<i>Reinterpret the hierarchy</i> : What are the effects of these dichotomies on the text? How might the text look different if the hierarchy were reversed?
3.	<i>Rebel voices</i> : Whose voices are dominant within the text? Whose voices are not heard?
4.	<i>Other side of the story</i> : What is the marginalised, silent or under-represented side of the story? How does the text look different when subverted to take into account the experience of ‘the other’?
5.	<i>Deny the plot</i> : What is the plot or moral? How does the text look different if what is assumed in the text is denied?
6.	<i>Find the exception</i> : What are the exceptions to the ‘rules’ implicit in the text?
7.	<i>Trace what is ‘Between the Lines’</i> : How does the text leave the reader to ‘fill in the gaps’? What dominant reading is intended to do so and how might the text look different if a different reading were inserted?
8.	<i>Resituate</i> : How can the text be resituated to remove centres and margins? (Boje, 2001, p.21)

The Map-Maker

In concluding this chapter, it must be noted that a vital component of interpretive research is ‘the other’. That is, what is the writer’s self-presence in the text (Denzin, 1998)? This is vital because constructed understandings are the result of the active and cooperative enterprises of people in a series of relationships (Gergen, 1985, p.267). This includes the author. Constructivist theories are based on phenomenological origins, and there remains from this background the recognition that there is not a passive relationship between perception and experience – indeed, human consciousness actively constitutes objects of experience (Husserl, 1970). Thus, there is no recognition of a ‘scientific observer’ – someone with an unbiased perspective, and a passive or neutral voice.

Instead, what the researcher is encouraged to do is to consider the notion of ‘carnival’. Kristeva (1986, p.49) describes a carnival participant as ‘both actor and spectator; he loses his sense of individuality, passes through a zero point of carnivalesque activity and splits into a subject of the spectacle and an object of the game’. Thus the role of an intertextual researcher is to recognise their own part in knowledge production, at the same time as asking questions such as who speaks for whom? What institutions commission the text? How are various stories incorporated? Who are the audiences this text is designed to be interpreted and read by? (Boje, 2001).

Therefore, in constructivist research, the writer creates his / her own world. As Denzin (1998, pp.322-323) explains:

‘What is given in the text, what is written, is made up and fashioned out of memory and field notes. Writing of this order, writing that powerfully reinscribes and re-creates experience, invests itself with its own power and authority. No one else but this writer could have brought this new corner of the world alive in this way for the reader’.

Thus, as the constructivist researcher it is important to articulate my own role and approach to the research. The aim is to make this process as transparent as possible such that the reader will be able to see the power and authority in the work and seek to deconstruct and create their own interpretations.

As stories were relied upon when constructing this thesis it seems useful to provide a background of my own role in the research by utilising a story to illustrate some of the thoughts, biases, and values which comprise my own experience both as a human being and a researcher. Like all stories, this is neither complete, nor isolated, yet it has the potential to reflect on many of the historical and social impressions I have developed which contribute in no small way to the course of this research.

It was early September 1999, and I was in Glasgow, Scotland. This was the first time I’d lived away from home, and indeed the first time I had traveled to the northern hemisphere. I’d been living in London for a little over a month with a friend of mine

in a small flat close to Wembley Stadium. I'd generally spent my time in London sightseeing and looking for employment, but having failed to secure a job, I took the opportunity whilst I had it to travel to Scotland for a few days. The aim was to head north to see the mythical Loch Ness, but I had decided to stop off for a night at Loch Lomond near Glasgow in order to break up the travel.

Most fellow travelers had advised me not to go to Glasgow. A cold and ugly city, one of my friends had told me before I'd left Australia. Yet, in the short time I'd been there, I was quite impressed with what I considered to be its 'bleak beauty' of majestic grey buildings set against a sky which appeared to already be preparing itself for a long cold winter. Sensing that the northern winter would be colder even than the winters to which I had become accustomed in Hobart, Tasmania, I set off for the shops of Glasgow in the hope of finding some warm winter clothing.

However, the trip to the shops was not without incident, and indeed served to present me with a moment which not only has helped me to define Glasgow, the city, in my own mind, but I believe also reflects many of the positions I take in constructing this research. As I was walking along an area of cobbled pavement resembling some sort of mall, I noticed an old lady ahead of me. I don't remember too much of the clothes she was wearing, or what she was doing, but I do know that she was about ten metres in front of me. There were five people walking along separately, but in her vicinity. In the next instant, the old lady fell. She may have stubbed her toe on one of the cobbled pavings, but she certainly hit the ground fairly hard. Anything she was holding she dropped, and it was quite clear that she would struggle to stand up again.

As I watched this scene unfold, something that I considered quite amazing happened. Not simply one or two, but all five of the people who had been walking in close proximity to the old lady proceeded to assist her in finding her feet. Two men then helped her to a nearby chair, and stayed with her whilst she regained her composure. At no stage did I see anything but compassion from these Glaswegians toward their fellow citizen – and indeed, it seemed to me to be a universal display from all five of these people toward the old lady.

This incident is the defining moment of my time in Glasgow, and given that it remains vivid in my mind today it clearly reflects some of the political, historical, and social threads which I take into this research. The first reflection which is apparent to me is that I am, and always have been concerned with social welfare. The plight of the old lady is demonstrative of someone who values a caring community. However, the story is also reflective of my own efforts in helping the community – that is, I appreciate welfare efforts, yet my own output is limited. Save for voluntary work I carried out for St Vincent de Paul during my high school years – I have never worked for a nonprofit organisation in any sense.

My own understanding of The Salvation Army as the case for this research also comes from my high school and primary school education. In primary school I attended a Christian school, whilst my high school was a Catholic institution. These schools emphasised the importance of caring for others, and indeed this upbringing was a strong factor in my voluntary work for St Vincent de Paul. Thus, my own considerations toward The Salvation Army were strongly disciplined by the historical, social, and political forces which assisted in my personal development.

Studying reputation was a choice of mine after several discussions with my supervisor. It came about after we deemed one other particular area of study to be too difficult due to the near impossibility of obtaining a suitable level of information for me to construct a thesis. Reputation, and in particular the management of it seemed like an interesting replacement topic, and hence after much reading around the subject I chose it as my area of study.

The Salvation Army as a case study came about through the friend of a colleague of my supervisor's. Social networks are always at work! I was pleased to be able to undertake reputational analysis on the Salvos, because I believed them to be an organisation with a good reputation. Objectivity abandoned already!

Yet the early stages of the research did not always shed positive light on The Salvation Army. In particular, a conversation with the Dean of Postgraduate Studies at the University of Tasmania provided a puzzling subtext to the research. Having enquired as to the research topic he became quite animated when informed it was

about reputation management in The Salvation Army he became quite animated. As a registered psychologist he claimed to have seen many ‘victims’ of The Salvation Army, and didn’t consider them to have a good reputation.

These comments stayed uncomfortably with me because they were so clearly contrary to what was the then-intended moral of the work. Yet at the time there seemed to be no way of accounting for these competing voices without undermining the determined plot. This became an even greater issue when further research proceeded to uncover more negative voices, particularly through the disaffected children of the *Four Corners* story (see chapter 5), and the swimwear model Sara Jane (see Chapter 8). Others also arose at various stages of the research. How was the research to account for these views which ran so counter to the constructs already forming?

One solution was then uncovered through reading David Boje’s (1995) ‘Storytelling Organization: A Postmodern Analysis of Disney as “Tamaraland”’. Only a brief recap of Boje’s argument is possible in this discussion, but suffice to say the article is a fascinating read for any scholar even notionally interested in narrative analysis. Boje looked at Disney Corporation and sought to provide an answer as to how Disney had become an organisation synonymous with children and happiness when its image was very heavily built on a founding father (Walt Disney) with known Nazi sympathies and a personal history of exploiting coloured workers. Boje’s work enabled me to see that those with negative accounts of the Salvos were not counter-productive to the research. In fact, ignoring these voices would have substantially reduced the argument, as they deliver an integral lens for examining the management of reputation in The Salvation Army. Hence, the result is a thesis which works to construct a hegemonic case study of The Salvation Army in Australia, and then attempts to follow a strategy of deconstruction to reduce this narrative of its power and thus explain how The Salvation Army manages its reputation across multiple stakeholders.

CHAPTER THREE – CHRISTIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE AUSTRALIAN CHARITY INDUSTRY

Objectives

The aim of this chapter is to look at the charity industry in Australia, and the philosophical reasons behind the involvement of Christian groups such as The Salvation Army in this industry. In order to provide this contextual information, the chapter offers both a context of, and a context for action. Based on an understanding of The Salvation as a Christian organisation with significant charitable works, two questions are considered. Firstly, why are Christian Churches motivated to provide welfare? Secondly, what are the historical and current circumstances under which they provide this welfare in the Australian context? Through understanding the contextual nature of social welfare policy, and charitable works in Australia, a basis is developed for constructing an understanding of The Salvation Army's charitable works in the Southern Territories in future chapters.

From this discussion, an argument is constructed which demonstrates that the charity industry in Australia presents conditions which have the potential to significantly damage the reputation of Christian organisations. This is based on an understanding that Christian organisations are compelled by philosophical tradition to play a role in the welfare industry. However, involvement in this industry places two significant elements of environmental uncertainty on the Christian organisation. Firstly, liberal philosophies held by broad elements of modern society reject much of the moral imperative behind Christian involvement in welfare, and hence there is great suspicion and scepticism surrounding the involvement of theological institutions in the delivery of social assistance. Secondly, neoliberal economic approaches adopted by Australian governments in the last fifteen years has placed a competitive obligation on all service providers in the welfare industry. This brings about increased scrutiny from Government, the media, and competitors, as these stakeholders seek to ensure that funds are being directed in a manner consistent with prevailing societal expectations.

In order to develop this argument, a brief overview of the Christian philosophy of welfare is provided. It is argued that Christian charities operate under a moral philosophy which advocates charity as a means to building a friendship with God. This friendship is built on the practice of virtue, and consequent rejection of vice, with the aim being to 'move the will toward God' (Hibbs, 2001). In considering this moral tradition, it is argued that subsequent liberal philosophies have emerged within the broader community which reject outright the notion of Christian moral philosophy and advocate vice as superior to virtue. Virtue is now regarded with suspicion, and Church groups which are shown by the media and other social commentary to have transgressed their own moral code are subject to significant social stigma.

Attention is then turned to the charity industry in Australia. The initial focus is on the political context of charitable works, and so an outline of social policy in Australia is presented. Modern social welfare policy in Australia is argued to be based on a neoliberal philosophy. This has created a competitive environment for charitable institutions, and many are now faced by significant business imperatives in managing their operations. Combined with broad societal suspicion of Christian moral philosophy, the competitive dynamics of the charity industry in Australia means that the practice of charity by Christian groups is a risky affair, and requires careful management to ensure transgression of societal expectations does not occur.

Vice and Virtue: Presenting A Christian Philosophy For Engaging in Charitable Works

In presenting a case study on the reputation of The Salvation Army, it is vital to provide an explanation as to why modern day Christian organisations seek to be actively involved in addressing welfare issues. Organised responses to welfare issues appear to be particular to the Christian tradition. This is discussed by Mendes (2003, p.156) who notes that groups of Muslims and Jews have not participated collectively in any formal or institutional campaigns for social justice in the Australian context. Instead, these religions emphasise private charity. Whilst Muslim groups have started to develop what Mendes (2003, p.156) describes as a 'substantial social welfare infrastructure', it remains the case that social welfare activism and lobbying in Australia from religious groups in Australia is the domain of Christian organisations.

Australia's primary Christian welfare groups have included the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the Fair Share Network, the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, Catholic Welfare Australia, Uniya, The Salvation Army, the St Vincent de Paul Society, Uniting Care Australia, and the Brotherhood of St Laurence. These groups have lobbied on many issues, from the introduction of a Goods and Services Tax, to legislation surrounding the social security system, gambling, alcohol and drug abuse, and industrial relations. As such, they represent an integral component of Australia's public policy process.

However, the question remains as to why Christian groups are predisposed toward collective, organized responses to social welfare? The argument to be presented here is that the fundamental call to action for Christian groups is predicated on the practice of virtue ethics – an ethics based on denial of vice, and promotion of moral virtues. To begin this conversation, we must return to the works of St Thomas Aquinas, a prominent theologian and philosopher in continental Europe in the thirteenth century. Aquinas lived from approximately 1224/25 – 1274 AD. He lived during a time of renaissance in Christian civilization, characterized by a large-scale effort to retrieve and organize past learning in diverse fields (Cessario, 2001). His prime contribution was to write the *Summa Theologiae* – a substantial body of work which remains central to developing an understanding of modern Christian philosophy.

Aquinas wrote much about virtue and vice. Perhaps his most significant accomplishment in formulating these writings was to incorporate Aristotle's philosophy of virtue into Christian philosophy. In ancient Greek society the word aretê was used by Homer to mean excellence of any kind. Later this word was translated to mean virtue (MacIntyre, 1985). Hence Greek society recognised notions of virtue. The most complete espousal of virtue from the ancient Greek period is to be found in Aristotle's text, the *Nicomachean Ethics*. In this work, Aristotle viewed virtue as a means to achieving the goodness of man. This occurred through both thought and action. Hence, virtues were dispositions to act in particular ways, and to feel in particular ways (MacIntyre, 1985). The result was a choice which ended in 'right action' (Kenny, 1978).

For every virtue, Aristotle believed there were two vices. Hence, courage was the opposite of rashness and timidity, liberality lay between prodigality and meanness, and justice between doing injustice and suffering injustice. In this sense, *phronêsis*, or the ability to exercise judgment, became a key virtue. Aristotle then sought to apply these virtues to law.

Aquinas used the *Summa Theologiae* to provide a treatise on the goodness of life for human beings. In his work, the good life is based on virtues – and hence the effort to evoke Aristotle. Aquinas lists wisdom, justice, courage, temperance, faith, hope, prudence, understanding, science, art, and charity as virtues (O'Donnell, 1995). Aquinas made a clear differentiation between moral and intellectual virtues, and those bestowed by God, which he described as supernatural virtues. In the Aquinas tradition, grace is seen to perfect and elevate nature, and hence the efficacy of natural virtues is prescribed by the supernatural. Under this schema, Aquinas links the gifts of knowledge and understanding with grace, the gift of fear with hope, the gift of wisdom with charity, the gift of counsel with prudence, and the gift of fortitude with fortitude (Hibbs, 2001).

Aquinas elevates the importance of two of these virtues above the others. The first of these is prudence, which became a virtue that linked all others. Hence, heroic self-denial became the moral paradigm for Christians in the Aquinas tradition. However, the ultimate virtue, and one to which all followers were encouraged to aspire so that their lives may be good, was the virtue of charity. Aquinas describes charity as ‘the mother of all virtues’ (Hibbs, 2001, p.194). Moral virtues can only be complete when they are infused with both prudence and charity. Aquinas says, ‘it follows then from what has been said that only the infused virtues are complete, and are called virtues simply because they order the human being rightly to the last end simply speaking’ (in Jordan, 1993, p.241). Aquinas characterises charity as friendship, both between God and among us. It arises from the movement of the will toward God, and can be lost through the commitment of just one serious sin (Hibbs, 2001). Hence, an explanation of the significance of charity to modern day Christian works.

However, as significant in presenting an understanding of the philosophy of Christian charity is the notion opposite to virtue – that of vice. As Flanagan (2001a, p.114)

acknowledges, 'virtue needs vice to know what it wants to reject and vice needs virtue to realize its pleasures'. Aquinas acknowledges the opposition to virtue presented by vice when he says, 'every special virtue expels the habit of the opposed vice; just as white expels black from the same subject' (Flanagan, 2001b, p.118). As a result he presents what he calls the cardinal sins, a precursor to what we know today as the seven deadly sins. Aquinas looked at these cardinal sins as final causes of all other sins, and he listed them as *acedia* (sloth), *invidia* (envy), *avaritia* (avarice), *vana Gloria* (envy), *gula* (gluttony), *luxuria* (lust), *ira* (wrath), and *superbia* (pride). Of these, *superbia* (pride) was the root of all sin. This harks back to John Cassian, a theological figure from the fifth century, who wrote, 'how great is the evil of pride, that it rightly has no angel, nor other virtues opposed to it, but God himself as its adversary' (Bloomfield, 1967, p.69).

This duality of virtue and vice has had a profound impact on the development of Christian ethics, such that it retains a strong hold on the modern Church. However, two developments have served to undermine this Christian duality in broader society, and have even reasserted the hierarchy such that it is now widely perceived that vice is superior to virtue (Flanagan, 2001b). These developments are the rise of liberalism and capitalism.

The publication in 1776 of Adam Smith's 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations' coincided with the rise of the capitalist state. In illustrating the notion of *economic man*, Smith created a view whereby 'virtue is to be more feared than vice because its excesses are not subject to the regulation of conscience' (Smith, 1776). This created in western countries, particularly England, a strong advocacy of principles of *laissez-faire* capitalism. Indeed, the fervour with which Protestants adopted this system, served to create new tensions in the altruistic religious provision of welfare, with many believing the laws of economics to be immutable (Inglis, 1963).

The rise of capitalism is significant because it has gradually transformed society into a consumer culture. This serves to glorify (in particular) two of the seven deadly sins – these being greed and gluttony. In the words of Flanagan (2001b, 1905), 'the gods of consumption took over from the Gods of religion'. Indeed, debate over greed and

gluttony hardly now seems to exist. In speaking of gluttony, Screwtape (in Lewis, 1982, p.76) proclaims that 'one of the greatest achievements of the last hundred years has been to deaden the human conscience on that subject, so that by now you will hardly find a sermon preached or a conscience troubled about it in the whole length and breadth of Europe'. Regarding greed, Frank (2001, p.103) argues that it may well be the one thing that all of mankind does well. Hence, capitalism has destabilized and moved away from the moral paradigm argued by the Church over many centuries.

Meanwhile, the advent of liberal philosophy reconceptualised notions of human happiness. This is most famously captured in John Stuart Mill's text *On Liberty*, which seeks to investigate human happiness. Mill claimed that the assumptions in virtue ethics of happiness being based on unitary, simple notions were incorrect, and that there were in fact too many different kinds of enjoyable activity to allow for characterisation. Hence the list of virtues became linked to an outdated line of thought and there was a realisation that the seven deadly sins were almost completely unavoidable such were actions so deeply rooted in a fallen human nature (Frank, 2001). This philosophy effectively spelt the end of the Christian moral project for society as had existed in the Thomastic tradition.

Having thus been philosophically liberated from pursuit of virtue, persons in society were now free to choose the means by which to achieve happiness. Thus, circumstances under which it was appropriate to pursue vice over virtue were now not only possible, but also commendable. Indeed, Flanagan (2001b, p.118) notes:

'if one had to choose, vice is more interesting. It is all about ventures and risks. It is about misadventures and losses. Virtue is about going nowhere and playing safe in not moving. One hears few tales of misadventure in the pursuit of virtue'.

Hence, vice is now acknowledged as a condition of modern humanity. Turning firstly to lust, it can be defined as an 'obsessive, unlawful, or unnatural sexual desire' (Wikipedia, 2006). Frank (2001, p.101) notes that 'in modern society we embrace feelings of lust and revel in the energy and excitement it brings to our lives'. Gluttony

is 'marked by unreasonable consumption of more than is necessary' (Wikipedia, 2006), but the consumer society has led to the situation where 'nothing makes us happier than food or drink, with the possible exception of sex' (Frank, 2001, p.102). Avarice is better known as treachery or greed, and is defined as an uncontrollable desire to gain, especially in money or power (Wikipedia, 2006). Once again, the capitalist society places a premium on people defining success through ownership, thus fueling the fires of greed. Sloth is 'apathy, idleness, and wastefulness of time', whilst wrath is 'inappropriate feelings of hatred and anger' (Wikipedia, 2006). Yet today, we are taught the importance of expressing our anger rather than let it bottle up inside (Frank, 2001). The final sin is envy, which is 'grieving spite and resentment of material objects, accomplishments, or character traits of others, or wishing others to fail or come to harm' (Wikipedia, 2006). Liberal philosophical tradition has further retreated from a hierarchy of virtue over vice by reframing the vices. Hence, indolence is now considered to be leisure, sloth is fatigue from the stresses of life, lust is a necessary right of sexual politics, and greed is the right of consumer choice (Flanagan, 2001b).

Yet the glorification of vice is perhaps not the most serious implication of the liberal tradition for Christianity. What the shift has also achieved is to tarnish the notion of virtue. Flanagan (2001b, p.3) argues that:

'... as a term, virtue has some profoundly unprogressive attachments and overtones. Virtue is now the vice of the unemancipated. Rather than liberation, the notion of virtue suggests entrapment. It betokens properties laden with hypocrisy and artificiality, traits which reason prescribes as non-rational, emotional, and ripe for enlightened liberation'.

This has particular implications for the way in which virtue is viewed by wider society. Virtue is seen to be risky ground, with and is associated with hypocrisy, narcissism, vain-glory, and the cultivation of esteem and honour in this life rather than the next (Flanagan, 2001b).

Hence, the practice of virtue by Christian organisations is not without risk. The media has proved adept at exposing hypocrisy in many Churches worldwide. Thus society has been presented with accounts of sexual abuse, financial mismanagement, and exploitation across many Christian religious contexts worldwide. Australia has not been exempt from this trend. Allegations of sexual abuse were even leveled against the Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, Dr George Pell in 2002 – although these were later found to be without substance (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2002).

An institutional body, Broken Rites Australia, was set up in 1993 with a mission to bring to justice those who had perpetrated sexual abuse whilst involved with the Church. They have been involved in cases against members of the Catholic, Anglican and Uniting Churches, as well as smaller denominations. Since their founding, they have undertaken the successful prosecution of 95 Catholic Priests and Religious Brothers for sexual offences (Broken Rites, 2006). Such has been the extent of alleged abuse, that both the Anglican and Catholic Churches have made public statements of apology. For instance, on 17 March, 2002, the major governing body of the Anglican Church in Australia offered a unified apology to victims of sexual abuse, saying that ‘the Church regrets that there have been instances of abuse involving some clergy, church officers, and institutions and apologise to all victims of church misconduct for their ongoing hurt and breakdown in pastoral relationships’ (Bradley, Burke, & Trott, 2002).

The Federal Government has also been required to undertake investigations into allegations of Church sexual abuse. In 2002, a Senate Committee was set up to deal with allegations of abuse by the Church against migrant children arriving into Australia in the 1950’s and 1960’s. One migrant is recorded to have said to this committee, ‘change the laws so that filthy paedophiles and child bashers are brought to justice, and can’t hide behind old age or frail health. They had no mercy on their victims. They deserve no mercy now, only justice’ (Australian Parliamentary Holdings, 2002).

The liberal tradition also allows for politicians from both the Left and Right to attempt to discredit the legitimacy of the church in matters of social justice. This is encapsulated in then-Prime Minister Bob Hawke’s response to Anglican Archbishop

Peter Hollingworth's criticism of the Australian Labor Party's record on child poverty in 1990. Hawke's response was:

‘that as Prime Minister, he would continue to refrain from ‘entering into some dissertation on the mysteries of the Holy Trinity’, if the Archbishop would ‘show a similar reluctance before entering into a dissertation on the mysteries of the unholy trinity of economic policy – monetary policy, fiscal policy, and wages policy’’ (in Mendes, 2003, p.162)

The response of the Church to the imperatives of capitalism and liberalism have formulated the philosophy behind their charitable works. With regard to capitalism, there has been an embrace by the Church of the notion of work. This is despite the acknowledged dilemma of the potential rise in greed and gluttony as arising from the new economic dogma. The protestant church has sought to adapt to this situation by encouraging its followers to engage in work activity, or vocations. Particularly significant was the development by Luther of the notion of ‘calling’. Under this notion, ‘the only way of living acceptably to God was not to surpass worldly morality in monastic asceticism, but solely through the fulfilment of obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world’ (Weber, 1974, p.80). Hence, the only way to live acceptably by God was in the fulfilment of worldly duties under all circumstances. Thus, to work is a Christian necessity (Minnerath, 2003).

This has enabled certain sections of Christian religion to conceptualise their role in fulfilling worldly duties to be defined by social work. In this, they embrace a calling and accept the betterment of society as their obligation in the world. However, at the same time they reject the notion of vice over virtue and seek to exercise prudence and charity in their activities. The goal of their work is to help those who cannot support themselves – to provide relief to widows and orphans, not to maintain the idle (Minnerath, 2003).

In concluding this discussion, we can understand reputation for churches involved in the provision of charity to be subject to the ever-vigilant gaze of stakeholders in the

broader society. The notion of 'gaze' is attributed to the French philosopher Michel Foucault, in which we may construct the term to mean 'a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see, induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible' (Foucault, 1979, pp.170-171). Foucault's most famous metaphor for gaze is the panopticon – a tower placed in a central position within a prison, from which guards could observe every cell and the prisoners inside them, but the prisoners would not be able to tell whether they were being observed or not. Thus prisoners would therefore have to adjust their behaviour accordingly in the belief that they were being continually watched (Danahar, Schirato, & Webb, 2000).

This metaphor applies equally to Christian charities. Having chosen to undertake work according to their virtuous moral paradigm, they now find the paradigm usurped by society as a whole, and being reversed onto them. They are the subject of an intersecting gaze from stakeholders including governments, the media, donors, and clients, who, like the guards in the panopticon have power to discipline and punish should actions fall outside of expectations. Hence, for Christian Churches, the charity sector carries constant attention from outside stakeholders, and an ever-present threat is posed to reputation should the gaze from these stakeholders observe offences deemed to violate the norms of society. Thus, we can see the panopticon of the charity industry.

An Overview of the Australian Welfare State (1788-1973)

It can therefore be seen that in embracing capitalist notions of work, whilst rejecting liberal conceptions of vice and virtue, Christian religious bodies subject themselves to significant public scrutiny lest they fall into the trap of hypocrisy. Nevertheless, their own desire to fulfill their calling and build a friendship with God through the practice of charity has served to define a significant role for Christian groups in the modern welfare state. However, the argument in this section is that changes to philosophy of government in Australia has placed further scrutiny on Christian involvement in the provision of social services by transforming the welfare industry into a competitive marketplace. This places new imperatives on Christian organisations, whilst at the

same time increasing the disciplinary gaze of external stakeholders to ensure that societal norms are being met in the provision of welfare. To explore this argument, an historical overview of the provision of social welfare in Australia is presented.

The Australian welfare state is based on a philosophy of social liberalism, a 'commitment to individual liberties with a recognition of the necessity for government intervention to redress gross inequalities and provide the services necessary to create a civilized society' (Dalton, Draper, Weeks, & Wiseman, 1996, p.25).

However, Australia's welfare policy is unique among nations in the liberal democratic tradition in that it has been based on a policy of protectionism. The ultimate goal of this policy was to protect the wage levels (of mainly white male breadwinners) as opposed to providing supplementary welfare benefits (Mendes, 2003). This goal was pursued in three key policy areas aimed at wage protection, labour protection, and industry protection. Broadly speaking they were enshrined in the Australian democratic process through arbitration (wage protection), the White Australia policy (labour protection), and tariffs and subsidies (industry protection).

The foundation of what Castles (1985) has described as the 'wage earners' welfare state was established in the Harvester Judgment of 1907. This case prescribed a fair and reasonable wage of 7 shillings per day for adult males to support a wife and three children (Mendes, 2003). Whilst this wage level provided more for subsistence than reasonable comfort, it entrenched notions of a 'fair wage' in the Australian psyche, and able-bodied men were expected to support themselves within the labour market.

Notions of arbitration were supported by protection of both labour and industry. Labour was protected from cheap foreign labour by an approach known as the White Australia Policy. More formally known as the Immigration Protection Act of 1901, the primary goal was to stop non-European immigration. The Act remained in place until 1973 (Babacan, 1996) and effectively served to safeguard Australian jobs. The incorporation of labour parties and trade unions into the Australian political system served to further place the protection of wages at the center of Australian social policy.

However, to fully safeguard jobs it was also necessary to protect the industries in which these jobs were created. This was performed through a complex series of tariffs and subsidies which sought to protect Australian goods and services from the cheap importation of foreign goods. This system remained strong over many decades but has gradually been phased out since the 1970's. Industry protection and stringent immigration policies have therefore been used to ensure Australian jobs for Australian people.

The three tiers of protectionism served as the main focus of social welfare policy in Australia, with full employment being the key to economic and social security (Mendes, 2003). Wage compression rather than welfare has represented the leading strategy in Australian policies of social amelioration (Castles, 1989). Those who missed out received assistance only if they were deemed to be 'deserving poor'. This notion lies at the heart of much of Australia's social policy, and hence requires investigation.

Australia's 'Deserving Poor'

Australia has grown from convict and aboriginal origins, two groups of people who have historically required strong levels of welfare assistance since white settlement. However, the Australian public has always viewed social welfare with scepticism, and early welfare initiatives ignored aboriginal issues completely and reserved scant attention for convict persons. The prosperity during the country's 'long boom' from 1860 to 1890 created the early notion of Australia as the 'Lucky Country' – a nation rich in wealth and opportunities.

By the 1870's a growing national maturity, and successful negotiation of many of the constitutional issues surrounding the new colonies, saw a marked decrease in the reliance upon English support. This coincided with the new found prosperity in the country, sparked by the discovery of gold in Victoria. Such developments were preceded by a period in which per capita income had expanded by more than twice the average for western economies between 1820 and 1870 (Maddison, 1994). The long boom between 1870 and 1890 coupled with the 'Lucky Country' vision created a

nation whose natural resource abundance shaped a view that self-improvement was always possible.

Failure by individuals to take self-improvement opportunities through idleness or poor morals was considered unacceptable, and such persons were therefore unworthy of support. Hence the rise of the notion of a 'deserving poor'. Assistance in this period was only given to those physically or mentally unable to grasp such opportunities – with almost all others expected to make marked self-improvements in order to prosper under the capitalist system. Hence, Government welfare provision in the colonies in the 1870's-1890's was an ad hoc process, and broad categories of those considered for assistance included the aged poor, destitute women and children, and lunatics (Dickey, 1987).

An emerging area of welfare concern in Australia at this time was that of the aged poor. By 1901, there were more than 150,000 people aged over 65, some thirteen times more than in 1861 (Jones, 1996). This led to the introduction of aged pensions in Victoria and New South Wales by the end of the 1890's, and such assistance was then incorporated into the policies of the new Australian Commonwealth government in 1908. By 1909, the first national age pension scheme was commenced, and invalid pensions were introduced in 1910. These initiatives are said to have been accepted warmly by Australians, who saw the age pension as a 'right' (Jones, 1996). Coupled with the introduction of maternity allowance in 1912, these remain the earliest platforms of the Australian welfare system.

Also of significance during this time was Australia's first universalistic application of social welfare benefits. This was in regard to the provision of hospital services, and so it was that government funded health services appeared in many major centres, and sought to cater for everyone from the poor to the wealthy. The philosophy that health services were necessary for all was at least partially predicated on a belief that the sick and ill could be rehabilitated so as to contribute to a productive society.

One group of people for whom new status was granted in the welfare system were the men who fought for Australia in the First World War. They were incorporated into policy through the commencement of the repatriation benefits policy of 1918.

However, support across other sectors of the community remained infrequent, with universal application only to the aged, invalids, and war veterans. Support for groups such as single parents, and the unemployed was either removed, or provided on an ad hoc basis (Jones, 1996). In particular, the issue of unemployment proved politically challenging at the time, with the Federal Government's Commission on National Insurance concluding that state governments were best placed to cope with the issue. Hence, when economic depression arrived in the late 1920's, an inadequate system of state government arrangements, and charitable institutions was left to deal with large-scale unemployment.

The response to unemployment is typical of much social welfare policy in Australia between the wars. Often policy was left in limbo as debate raged as to whether assistance was of a Federal or State government responsibility. Only when the social services referendum of 1946 was approved did an Australian welfare state come into being. This was not an outcome which the Federal Government actively sought, as their position was heavily influenced by the \$800 million they provided in repatriation benefits between 1918 and 1929 (Jones, 1996). Indeed, given 329,883 Australians served in World War I, and many of those had wives and dependents, it was the case that nearly 10 per cent of the population was eligible for benefits (Jones, 1996).

By the early 1940's, social welfare rose to the top of the policy agenda under the Curtin and Chifley federal Labor governments. Unemployment was almost eradicated during this time as men went to fight the war and women sought to participate in the workforce. Increases in federal tax income at this stage was also increasing, and this allowed for the creation of specific new types of universal benefits. This rise in federal tax came about by the decision in 1942 to provide the Commonwealth Government with comprehensive income tax powers – thus removing such jurisdiction from the state governments. Welfare from this point forward could thus be undertaken on a primarily national scale.

The first steps along the road of Australian welfare provision can be seen in Curtin's family allowance scheme – where payroll tax on employees was put toward child endowments (Dickey, 1987). Other innovations included widow's pensions (1942), funeral benefits (1943), and unemployment and special benefits (1945). However,

much of this verve for welfare reform was lost in 1949 with the election of Robert Menzies' Liberal government.

Menzies was a dominant figure in Australian politics given that his record stint in office lasted from 1949 to 1966. The Liberal Party itself was the ruling party from 1949 to 1972. Menzies' priority was to protect Australians' standard of living through increasing tariffs and protect jobs through hard immigration laws. Coupled with his deep hatred of Communism, Menzies' Australia became a highly isolationist society – friendly with the United Kingdom and the United States, but withdrawn from much of the rest of the world. By 1951 Menzies had imposed new import quotas to put an end to unemployment, which had grown to four per cent. Meanwhile increased tariffs were placed on the manufacturing industry so that the country's fledgling development in areas such as automobile production could continue apace – with Australian workers at the helm. Welfare policy under Menzies was therefore aimed at providing a safety net for Australian workers and families so that assistance would not be required. Indeed, only 8.3 per cent of the Australian population was dependent on social welfare in 1971 (Jones, 1996), and the Australian mantra was to create an egalitarian society – whereby education and hard work would facilitate the achievement of dreams (Mackay, 1993).

An Overview of the Australian Welfare State (1973-present)

However, many structural problems in the Australian economy had been hidden by the Liberal government, and with the election of Gough Whitlam's Labor government in 1972, issues of welfare once again became important on the policy agenda. Whitlam's government was a high spending bureaucracy, and it provided funds to a health benefits scheme which it labeled 'Medibank', as well as capital outlay to areas such as education, and also displayed interest in assisting the aboriginal community. The government also oversaw the introduction of a National Superannuation Scheme, and a National Compensation Scheme.

Yet the pace of change adopted by the Whitlam government after years of stability served to unnerve the Australian electorate, and by 1975 the Liberal Party was back in power under Malcolm Fraser. Elected on a platform of economic stability, Fraser's

approach to social welfare was cautious, and after debate within the Liberal party many of Whitlam's programs remained in place. The Social Security Minister fought the proposed abolition of maternity allowances. The proposed abolition of funeral benefits for pensioners was defeated following debate within the parliament. Indeed, Fraser even undertook small levels of social welfare reform, introducing a family allowance scheme which was not means tested.

Fraser's reign concluded in 1983, following a sustained period of high inflation. This ushered in thirteen years of Labor rule from 1983 to 1996 under Bob Hawke and Paul Keating. This was an extremely progressive government, which dismantled much of the protectionism surrounding Australia's jobs and industries. This resulted in major adjustments to Australia's welfare policy, and also caused major social upheaval through the loss of many jobs, and the creation of a new phenomenon in Australian society – long-term unemployment. In the early 1990's the number of Australians unemployed reached the one million mark (Mackay, 1993). However, Hawke and Keating also implemented many fresh welfare policies, including a Family Income supplement (1983), a Carer's Pension (1985), compulsory superannuation payments (1992), and the *Working Nation* unemployment programs (1994). Yet, the Hawke-Keating agenda remained driven primarily by principles of economic rationalism, and it remains the case that many see social welfare policy under these men as being more closely aligned to the Liberal principles of Fraser than the Labor principles of Whitlam (Smith, 1994).

The election in 1996 of John Howard's Liberal Government placed new emphasis on competition as the centerpiece of Australian Federal Welfare policy. For example, the privatisation of the Government's Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) led to the creation of competing service providers in the market for the provision of jobs and training. Work for the dole initiatives were implemented to ensure that those receiving benefit were also made to undertake various community engagements as justification for their payments. This served to allay the fears of the wider community, who had extreme distaste for 'dole bludgers' – those who prefer to live from the welfare state rather than gain employment (David & Wheelwright, 1989). When introducing this scheme, Minister for Workplace Relations, Tony Abbott, declared that it signaled the end of 'unconditional welfare' (The Age, 2001, p.17).

Smith (1994) describes the attitudes of both the Liberal and Labor parties in relation to welfare policy of being a pattern of 'less versus less'. The belief has been that economic growth largely replaces the need for state welfare (Smith, 1994), and thus emphasis under Hawke and Keating, and now Howard, has been to drive competition across all sectors of the economy. This provides a basis from which we can begin to construct an understanding of the role of charities in the modern Australian welfare state.

An Overview of Charity In Australia

Historically, the policies of state and federal governments have combined with the philosophies of Christian organisations to create a role for charities in Australian society. However, government social policies in Australia have also served to place these charities under public scrutiny. As discussed, early English charity was based on Poor Laws which placed responsibility for provision of welfare to the destitute on local church parishes. However, general scepticism in Australia of the social utility of English Poor Laws meant that much early assistance was provided through private benevolence, as opposed to statutory intervention (Berreen, 1994). Critics maintained that the English laws discouraged attempts to seek employment by not discriminating between the employed and the unemployed. Thus early Australian governments rejected attempts to incorporate Poor Laws into their constitutions, and encouraged the formation of charitable bodies to deal with social welfare issues. This is reflected in the establishment in 1818 of Australia's first widely recognised charity, the Benevolent Society of New South Wales. Founded by a group of evangelical Christians, the Benevolent Society had the intention of assisting the poor and evangelising the Aboriginal populations (Lyons, 2000). However, the Governor of New South Wales asked that they concentrate their efforts on the poor. This organisation then provided assistance to four target groups: the poor, the distressed, the aged, and the infirm. In particular, the Society outlayed approximately 60 pounds per annum to provide housing so that there would be no need for begging (Berreen, 1994). However, such assistance was made available only under strict notions of a deserving poor, thus eliminating 'those who bring themselves to poverty and want by idleness and intemperance' (Benevolent Society of New South Wales, *in* Dickey, 1987).

This reliance on private benevolence, as opposed to state relief, created a veritable boom in the creation of charitable institutions in Australia. By the late nineteenth century, Melbourne alone was reported to have 400 charities (Garton, 1990). Fallout from the end of the long economic boom created pressure on charities, with the New South Wales Benevolent Society assisting 3159 people in 1891, and this figure rising to 7332 in 1895 (Dickey, 1987). The aim of such institutions appears to have been to correctly distinguish the deserving from the undeserving poor, and thus applicants commonly had to prove the eligibility of their claims. Relief, where it was provided, was required to be at levels less than those of minimum wages so as not to discourage work (Dickey, 1987). Meanwhile, many of the charities themselves relied upon government assistance.

During these early days of the welfare state in Australia, the churches involved in the provision of charity concentrated on providing services to constituents via provision of care through church-owned hospitals, homes, and schools. This form of intervention wasn't without resistance however, particularly from those middle classes. These people had witnessed the centrality of religion to societal disputes in Ireland, England, and Scotland, and as a result they remained wary of creating a secularised society in Australia. Gradually, the Federal and State Governments sought to wrest control of institutions such as hospitals, homes, and schools back from the churches, with the result being that no religious organisation has sought to found a non-profit hospital since the Second World War (Lyons, 2000), although religious schools remain a strong component of the education system.

Governments also began to take a more active role in overseeing the activities of charities in the provision of welfare. Charity Law in Commonwealth countries had followed English models which have existed since pre-industrial times. Initially, such laws served to ensure that the poor were forced to fend for themselves, and that the church parishes would have to spend as little money as possible on relief for the poor (Dal Pont, 2000). However, by the time of Australia's early colonization, more compassionate conditions had been incorporated into the English legal system through legislation such as the Poor Relief act of 1795 which supplemented the income of low wage rural workers and unemployed workers. Yet the overall conclusion to be drawn from early English charity law is that there was indeed recognition of the importance

of charity to a functioning capitalist society, and this is embodied in the decision to exempt charities from income tax in 1799. As the roles and responsibilities of Australian charitable institutions grew in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it became necessary for Australian state and federal governments to ensure that charitable funds were not being used fraudulently. Thus legal provisions were created in each of the states to maintain ethical standards within the charity area. For instance, by 1879 the Victorian Government had created the position of Inspector of Public Charities in order to secure 'uniformity of practice' (Dal Pont, 2000).

The Role of Charities in Modern Australia

An emergent theme in social welfare since Hawke has been the emergence of a neoliberal philosophy, based heavily on the notion of economic rationalism. Economic rationalism is a doctrine which states, 'that markets and prices are the only reliable means of setting a value on anything, and further, that markets and money can always, at least in principle, deliver better outcomes than states and bureaucracies' (Pusey, 1993, p.14). Both the Hawke and Keating governments, and the subsequent Howard Liberal government have pursued a path of neoliberal restructuring based on a belief that this was necessary in order that Australia could remain a competitive player on the global stage (Mendes, 2003).

The neoliberal philosophy is based on the ideas of Friedrich Hayek (1944) and Milton Friedman (1962). The works of both of these men seek to emphasise the market as superior to government intervention. Hayek argues that government redistribution of incomes only encourages laziness and other forms of unproductive behaviours – hence markets are the engine of economic and social progress (Hayek, 1944). Friedman maintains that economic growth is the result of major developments from a tiny minority of entrepreneurial leaders, and that taxation for the purposes of equality serves to interfere with the efforts of these people. Hence, the pursuit of egalitarian policies is incompatible with freedom.

Neoliberal philosophy in government has created a view that government provision of the majority of welfare assistance, as occurred in the 1960's and 1970's is not economically viable. This conclusion is supported by a volume of research, as

collated by Lyons (2000, p.166), which seeks to demonstrate that the growth in state provision of welfare since the 1950's has created the following problems:

Table 3.1: Problems with State-provided Social Welfare Assistance (Lyons, 2000, p.166):

-
- It has grown at the expense of individual rights and freedoms, thus sapping democratic institutions (Hirst, 1994);
 - It has created a vast government structure that in the long run is unsustainable (Green, 1993, 1996; Field, 1996; Latham, 1998);
 - It has created a class of welfare dependents (Green, 1996; Field, 1996; Latham, 1998) ;
 - It has removed important elements of choice from people's lives (Hirst, 1994; Green, 1993);
 - It has diminished people's sense of individual responsibility and preparedness to take responsibility for their future (Green, 1993, 1996; Latham, 1998);
 - It has diminished people's preparedness and capacity to work together collectively to address common problems (Green, 1996; Latham, 1998);
 - It has strengthened central structures at the expense of local level decision-making (Hirst, 1994); and
 - It has strengthened vertical networks and lines of authority at the expense of horizontal networks of mutuality (Latham, 1998)
-

Neoliberal policies have been central to creation of social welfare policy in Australia since the early 1990's. Jeff Kennet's Victorian government (1992-1999) provided the blueprint for such an approach. Mendes (2003, p.39) defines Kennett's approach as being shaped by three principles:

- '(1) the notion of governments steering (making policy decisions) but not rowing (direct service delivery);
- (2) the associated purchaser / provider split, based on funding designated outputs or outcomes rather than labour or service inputs; and
- (3) the empowering of welfare customers – however disadvantaged, disabled or isolated – as self-interested individuals whose freedom of choice is to be maximized by output-based service delivery.

Thus governments have sought to change their emphasis in the welfare sector. In particular, the notion of charities working in partnership with government to provide

assistance appears to have been abandoned. Current governments have adopted a market-orientation employed, in which the government acts as a purchaser and seeks competitive bids from charitable organisations to provide support to those requiring services (Lyons, 2000). This has necessitated the adoption of a business mind-set in the charity sector, and organisations now openly compete for resources. Such competition is evidenced in a number of ways, be it for the attraction of donations, or in the implementation of business models within charity organisations.

As government provision of welfare drops, and competition for government assistance for welfare funding becomes greater, charities have increasingly had to turn to the private sector for funding imperatives. In 2000-01, Australian businesses donated \$1,447 million to the community sector in the form of money, goods, and services (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002). However, gaining such support is not easy for charities, with some seventy per cent of businesses who did not donate to these organisations indicating that they were unable to because their resources were committed elsewhere (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

The effect of the increasing competitiveness in the welfare industry is that charities are ever more subject to scrutiny from external stakeholders. In particular, organisations must be able to justify to governments that they are spending the grants with which they have been provided in a responsible manner (Mendes, 2003). Hence, The Salvation Army lists one of its primary goals as being 'responsible in utilising donated funds and government grants' (Salvation Army, 2000, p.31). Thus, the rise of the neoliberal philosophy at the government level in Australia has placed a very commercial set of imperatives on religious organisations in order that they can seek to demonstrate they operate within the expectations of society.

Hence, charities have been encouraged to devise new ways to seize 'fantastic marketing opportunities' (Sargeant, 1999). In particular, brands are being promoted as competitive features of organizations in the not-for-profit sector. The high level of competition for resources has seen Ritchie et al (1999) encourage charities to adopt brands as a potential source of differentiation with potential to provide strategic benefit to the organization. Indeed, this enthusiasm for a branded approach to charitable work has been empirically validated by Hankinson's (2002) discovery that

high brand-oriented fundraising managers attract significantly more voluntary income than low brand-oriented fundraisers.

Whilst these competitive forces are at play in the charity industry, the forces in Australian society have dictated an emerging need for social services. Saunders (2002) identifies four key challenges in the provision of welfare in Australia. These are employment and unemployment, income and living standards, poverty and exclusion, and inequality. As governments have increasingly sought to reduce their direct provision of social services, these areas have become the domain of charitable bodies. Hence, the alleviation of suffering in these areas represent the main focus of service provision by charities in Australia today.

The employment sector in Australia is in a state of transition. The total number of people participating in the labour market is increasing, but more people are employed in part-time and casual positions. This reflects a change in the structure of the economy from manufacturing to services (Saunders, 2002). By 2004 some 74 per cent of the workforce was employed in services (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2005), and the nature of the services sector lends itself toward casual and part-time employment (Van Looy, Gemmel, & Van Dierdonck, 2003). However, despite these changes there were 654,000 unemployed people in Australia in June 2001, and these numbers were characterised by high levels of long-term unemployment amongst young, less educated, recent migrants, and blue collar workers (Borland & Kennedy, 1998). Australia's long-term unemployment is higher than that of Japan, Canada, and the United States (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001). This creates issues of well being, particularly with regard to emotional stress and health, tensions within the family, and social exclusion (Saunders, 2002).

Income and living standards are further issues for today's Australian welfare state. Households participating in the workforce have seen their hours of work increase such that their leisure and personal time is eroded. Meanwhile, those unable to participate in the workforce have seen a tightening of welfare conditions. Hence, when Australians are surveyed about their quality of life, the number of people reporting a decline in their living standards outnumbers those reporting an improvement in their living standards by a rate of four to one (Saunders, 2002).

This links with the issues of poverty and exclusion. The background of large-scale unemployment, increased family breakdown, and inequality has raised the risk of poverty in Australia. In 1999, a sample of adult Australians showed that 43.8 per cent of the population did not have enough to buy food, housing and clothing, whilst 32.2 per cent responded that they struggled to survive each and every day (Saunders, 2002). Healey (2002) suggests that even using the most cautious estimate it can be shown that more than a million and a half Australians are living below the poverty line. However, poverty has further effects. As noted by Donnison (1998, p.19), 'a neighbourhood in which most people are poor is not an attractive place for shops, banks, building societies, bus companies, and other enterprises to do business'. Hence the poor are excluded from services that may be taken as given in wealthier communities. This provides a basis for inequality.

Inequality is based on conceptions of opportunity. Those with fewer opportunities suffer from inequality. Inequality is most often measured via income. Australian studies in the last twenty years have consistently shown the relative income of those at the top of the pile to be improving markedly, whilst the circumstances of those at the bottom are deteriorating (Harding, 1997). It is against these contemporary issues of unemployment, falling quality of life, poverty and exclusion, and inequality that charities work to try to alleviate the suffering of those in need.

Conclusion

The conclusion to be drawn from this chapter is that the political context of welfare provision in Australia has created a heavy reliance on charities to retain the social fabric of the country's society. Initially, this pressure built from the notion acquired through English laws and religious attitudes of a 'deserving poor', whereby moral and ethical standards were applied to those for whom assistance was given. However, the importance of charities to the Australian community increased with the adoption of protectionist policies designed to protect Australian industries and Australian jobs from the full forces of global competition. Whilst policies of tariffs, import quotas, and minimum wage protection served to create a relatively even middle-class society, it served to alienate those who missed employment opportunities.

The rise of neoliberal philosophy in governments since the early 1990's has led to withdrawal from direct provision of social services by Australian state and federal governments. This has created a new form of social policies, whereby governments seek expressions of interest from charitable bodies to manage social services. The result is an increasingly competitive charity industry, with institutions seeking to demonstrate their superior ability to provide welfare assistance. This system places commercial imperatives on nonprofit organisations similar to those found in the private sector. It also focuses the gaze of external stakeholders on Christian organisations to ensure that they use public funds in a responsible manner.

Charities also face a population increasingly dependent on welfare assistance. The removal by the Hawke-Keating Labor governments of much of the protectionist regulations surrounding the Australian economy has served to create classes of long term unemployed. Thus Australia now has an underclass of mainly migrant and blue-collar workers with great difficulty in obtaining employment. This long-term unemployment leads to associated problems of poverty, inequality and exclusion, and a decrease in the quality of life. These social issues provide the main challenges for charities in the modern Australian context.

For churches engaged in the provision of social welfare, the situation is particularly difficult. These groups are motivated by Christian moral philosophy which seeks to emphasise the practice of virtue over vice, and the building of a friendship with God through the practice of charity. Yet, this philosophical approach has been rejected by much of society, to the extent where virtue is now viewed with suspicion. The result is that they are subject to an intersecting gaze from the media, government, donors, clients, and the broad community. Under this panopticon of religious charity, those organisations perceived to have acted in a hypocritical fashion have been heavily penalised for their transgressions, as exemplified by the efforts of the Broken Rites Group of Australia to prosecute 95 Catholic Priests and Religious Brothers for crimes of sexual abuse. Christian institutions are therefore faced with a dilemma, they acknowledge a calling to create fulfillment in people's lives, but if assistance provided is not aligned to social expectations their opportunity to provide support is often removed or undermined. This therefore makes them especially vulnerable to reputational attack. It is against this backdrop of media and community cynicism over

the moral conduct of Christian organisations, and the rise in the competitive forces in the welfare industry, that The Salvation Army seeks to undertake its charitable works. In these circumstances, good reputation is vital but also increasingly difficult to maintain. In the following chapter an attempt is made to construct an understanding of The Salvation Army through providing a narrative of its historical development, focusing particularly on its works in the Australian context.

CHAPTER FOUR – THE SALVATION ARMY

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to contextualise the role of The Salvation Army in Australia. This will be done through introducing some of the stories key to providing an historical understanding of the work and philosophy of the Salvos. Hence, the chapter uses stories to provide a narrative of The Salvation Army in Australia. The method is in keeping with a belief that narratives represent a key mechanism for organisations in their efforts to manage the meaning of external stakeholders, and hence are an important tool in the management of reputation.

In presenting this narrative, it is important to provide an explanation of the process of determining each particular story as useful in constructing the narrative understanding of The Salvation Army. To consider this, it is necessary to acknowledge the main sources of material for the chapter. In presenting this chapter seven texts have been utilised. These are Cleary's (1993) 'Salvo! The Salvation Army in the 1990's', Bolton's (1980) 'Booth's Drum: The Salvation Army in Australia 1880-1890', Dale's (1952) 'Salvation Chariot: A Review of the First Seventy-One Years of The Salvation Army in Australia', Linsell's (1997) 'Thank God for the Salvos', Watson's (1974) 'The Salvationist in a Secular Society', Tarling's (1980) 'Thank God for the Salvos', and The Salvation Army's (2000) Yearbook. The choice of these texts is instructive as they are recommended reading on The Salvation Army website (<http://www.salvationarmy.org.au/national/>). They are therefore powerful discourses in themselves. These are the stories The Salvation Army wants to be heard at the expense of other historical analyses.

The stories which contribute to this historical narrative are those determined as providing an understanding of The Salvation Army's reputation management. Continuing the discussion presented in Chapter One, it has been argued that organisations seek to manage the meaning of external stakeholders in order that these stakeholders construct positive perceptions of the organisation's reputation. The management of meaning is performed through the exercise of unobtrusive power – a power which resides in the organisation's structure, leadership, strategies, culture,

symbols, myth, language, rituals, ceremonies, and settings. Hence, the strands of stories chosen for inclusion in this chapter are based on the contribution they may to providing an understanding of each of these artifacts of unobtrusive power. In this way, the intention is to frame historical accounts of The Salvation Army through a language of unobtrusive power, lending itself to a formative understanding of reputation construction through narrative. The structure therefore also provides a practical demonstration of how the artifacts of unobtrusive power reside in narrative.

These stories are important to The Salvation Army. This is because The Salvation Army may be conceptualized as a story-telling organisation – whereby the organisation is a ‘collective storytelling system in which the performance of stories is a key part of members’ sense-making and a means to allow them to supplement individual memories with institutional memory’ (Boje, 1991, p.106). This then links directly with Weick’s concept of sensemaking, where sensemaking can be defined as ‘the making of sense’ (Weick, 1995, p.26). The importance of sensemaking is that it leads to enactment. People make sense of stories and situations and these then prompt them to act in certain ways, or as importantly, constrain them from acting in other ways (Weick, 1995, p.31).

Thus the stories selected for representation in this chapter are particularly powerful. They have not only been selected at the expense of other voices, they also help people both inside and outside the organisation to formulate their actions toward the institution that is The Salvation Army. In this way they represent building blocks in constructing our understanding of reputation management in The Salvation Army in Australia.

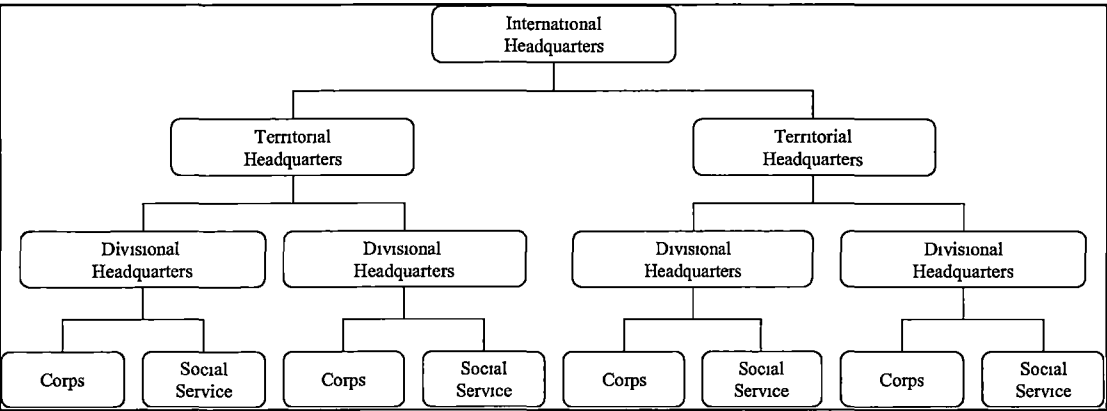
Formal Structure

International Headquarters of The Salvation Army are in London. The overall leader of The Salvation Army, known as the General, directs the operations of the Salvos in over 103 countries from here. London has been the home of the Salvos since their founding by William Booth, and the headquarters have never moved, despite sustaining direct hits in bombings during World War II.

Situated in the organisational hierarchy directly underneath the International Headquarters is the Territorial Headquarters. A Territory is usually representative of an entire country. However in those nations where the numbers of Salvationists are strong, the country may be split into more than one Territory. Australia is a prime example, in that it has two Territory Headquarters. These are the Southern Territory, comprising Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, and the Northern Territory, and the Eastern Territory, comprising New South Wales, the Australian Capital Territory, and Queensland. It should be noted that the work in this thesis concentrates on Australia as a whole, based on an understanding that The Salvation Army enjoys a consistent level of outstanding reputation across people from all states and territories, and that the Australian people do not judge these Territory Headquarters separately.

Underneath the Territory Headquarters are Divisional Headquarters. These are the head offices of each state. For instance, Hobart is the Divisional Headquarters for Tasmania in the Southern Territory of The Salvation Army. In each Division then, there exist numerous Corps and Social Services. The Corps are the basic unit of The Salvation Army and are the equivalent of a congregation in any other church (Cleary, 1993), whilst Social Service units aim to carry out the social support services in the community.

Figure 3.1: The Structure of The Salvation Army



For each individual Salvationist, The Salvation Army is structured according to military rank. Today's officers must undertake two years' full-time training in order to be commissioned as Lieutenants. Following this, three years of part-time study is required to become Captain. The training contains elements of theology, but leans heavily towards The Salvation Army's work and witness (Cleary, 1993). Whilst Linsell (1997) can find no record indicating where the decision was made to structure along military lines, it may be assumed that William Booth's decision to utilise military terminology comes from his involvement in the Methodist church, where terms such as 'General Superintendent' were used to refer to Ministers (Cleary, 1993). Nevertheless, the structure initially served to give people a sense of self worth and belonging (Linsell, 1997), and it was also non-discriminatory, particularly in that women were not prevented from attaining rank of any position.

Fiercely egalitarian, The Salvation Army has always accepted people whether rich or poor, black or white, male or female. The uniform of the General, has always been the same as the uniform as that of the newest convert. This proved an especially useful way of attracting converts who could relate to the 'battler myth' (Linsell, 1997, p.5). Today, the same theories, principles, and structures exist as in the 1870's, with the military titles serving to remind Salvationists that they are in a war to win converts to God.

Leadership

Leadership is an especially important component in building reputation in an organisation. This has been demonstrated in various works, including studies by Forman and Argenti (2005), Tucker and Melewar (2005), and Fombrun and Rindova (2000). In the case of The Salvation Army, the founding of the organisation is attributed to two people, William Booth, and his wife Catherine. This has had significant impact on the development of the organisation, in particular in the design of an egalitarian organisation, of which numerous women have held the General's position as the Head of International operations.

Turning to some of the narrative accounts as presented in historical overviews of The Salvation Army, we can see that William Booth founded the Army's precursor,

known as the East London Christian Mission in 1865. Born on 10th April 1829, and dying on the 20th of August 1912, he enjoyed a long life. A tall dark-haired man (Linsell, 1997) with ruthless energy and passionate evangelism (Bolton, 1980), The Salvation Army is inextricably linked to his vision (Green, *in* The Salvation Army, 1980). Originally a Methodist preacher, Booth's life changed when he married Catherine Mumford in London on the 16th of June 1855 (The Salvation Army, 2002). Catherine was both a gifted preacher and writer (Linsell, 1997) and although she was frail in body, she was strong in will (Bolton, 1980). Much of the puritan ethics associated with The Salvation Army are a result of initiatives from Catherine Booth in the 1870's.

William Booth's decision to form the East London Christian Mission was based on what he saw in the slums of East London – dirt, rats, disease and homelessness (Linsell, 1997). As he walked home one night in July 1865, he was troubled by what he had seen in those slums. When he arrived home he told his wife of his feelings – declaring, 'I feel I ought at every cost to stop and preach to these East End multitudes' (Bolton, 1980, p.29). Catherine replied, 'well, we have trusted the Lord once for our support and we can trust him again' (Bolton, 1980, p.29).

Thus Booth erected an old tent in a disused cemetery and used it to dispense hot soup and bread (Bolton, 1980). Bolton (1980, p.29) describes the Christian Mission as being like no other religious institution – being committed to equality of the sexes, fiercely teetotal, and puritan in ethics. During 1878, a draft document at a conference referred to the Mission as the 'Volunteer Army'. 'William Booth crossed the room, placed his pen and wrote the word 'Salvation'. 'I am not a volunteer, I am a conscript' exclaimed Booth' (Linsell, 1997, p.2). A military structure was adopted, with William Booth the autocratic general, and Catherine Booth the Army Mother (Bolton, 1980).

Narratives of The Salvation Army continue to acknowledge William and Catherine Booth as essential to the practices of The Salvation Army today. Retired Commissioner Leslie Rusher, when discussing the history of the Brunswick citadel claims, 'as a youngster I did not realize I was in the presence of invincible men and women who had come through fierce persecution to establish corps such as this' (in

Cleary, 1993, p.103). As Cleary (1993, pp.133-134) notes, 'Booth and his Army of volunteers are alive'.

Strategy, Mission, and Values

The Salvation Army is primarily an evangelistic taskforce (Bolton, 1980). Its international mission statement is as follows:

'The Salvation Army, an international movement, is an evangelical part of the universal Christian Church. Its message is based on the Bible. Its ministry is motivated by love for God. Its mission is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in his name without discrimination' (Salvation Army, 1999).

William Booth set up the Army in the belief that it was uniquely equipped to bring the world to the feet of Jesus (Green, 1999). The two fundamental methods for achieving this are through preaching of the gospel, and the commitment of acts of mercy. Central to both of these is the practice of holiness in the life of the Salvationist.

Holiness is defined as a state of right living with God. The understanding by Salvationists is that all humanity is 'totally depraved' in that every aspect of every person is affected by sin (Salvation Army, 2006). The Salvationist therefore undertakes to live a holy life:

'The life of holiness is not mysterious or overwhelming or too difficult to understand. It is life in the footsteps of Christ who is the true image of God. He is the truly holy one who revealed the holiness of God in the wholeness and fullness of his human life and in the manner of his self-offering to God. To see him is to be marked by it. Holiness is Christlikeness' (Salvation Army, 2006).

This holiness is expressed through puritan ethics, a fundamental theology, and innovative preaching (Bolton, 1980). These ethics hark back to the practice of virtue over vice as advocated by Thomas Aquinas and other early Christian philosophers. In the case of the Salvos, puritanism has developed from Catherine Booth's abhorrence of the gin shops around East London (Bolton, 1980). Today, the Salvos maintain strong puritan ideals. Salvationists are fiercely teetotal, and believe that the only guarantee against harm and addiction to alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs is through total abstinence (Public Questions Board, 1992a). Sexuality is also articulated as being between a loving man and woman in the tradition of marriage. Watson (1974, p.172) says:

‘A Salvation soldier should be saved from all unnatural and therefore unlawful gratification of sexual appetites. This will apply to a salvation soldier's thoughts, feelings, and conduct, whether in private or in public... A soldier must not, whether in conversation with men or women, use language that has a double meaning, or in any way give looks or hints that are intended to convey unclean thoughts or suggestions... A soldier should avoid any companions, books or pictures that create lustful thoughts or desires and, if within his power, destroy such books or pictures’.

Strong positions are also taken on other social issues, and these are articulated by the Public Questions Board, a board designed to respond to circumstances as new issues of public importance arise (Cleary, 1993). For instance, the value The Salvation Army places on life as a gift from God sees it opposed to the use of euthanasia (Public Questions Board, 1992b). Gambling is seen as motivated by selfishness and runs counter to the Christian expression of love, respect, and concern for others (Public Questions Board, 1991). Hence Salvationists are required to abstain from gambling. Homosexuality is also opposed as being ‘clearly unacceptable’ in the light of the Scripture, although a disposition toward homosexuality is not considered to be in itself blameworthy (Public Questions Board, 1996). The positions on social issues are drawn from the doctrines that all Salvationists adhered to. These are shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: The Doctrines of the Salvation Army (Salvation Army, 1999, p.18)

We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by inspiration of God, and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice.
We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver and Governor of all things, and who is the only proper object of religious worship.
We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead – the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, undivided in essence and co-equal in power and glory.
We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that he is truly and properly God and truly and properly man.
We believe that our first parents were created in a sense of innocence, but by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness, and that in consequence of their fall all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God.
We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has by his suffering and death made an atonement for the whole world so that whosoever will may be saved.
We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to Salvation.
We believe that we are justified by grace through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and that he that believeth hath the witness in himself.
We believe that continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ.
We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be wholly sanctified, and that their whole spirit and should and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.
We believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the endless punishment of the wicked.

Despite holding these rules for living their own lives, The Salvation Army emphasises a compassionate view of any persons who fall victim to any types of abuse or addiction, and seek to ‘provide avenues for those people to endeavour to regain physical, mental, emotional and spiritual help with God’s help’ (Public Questions Board, 1992a). Hence, the effort to engage in ‘practical holiness’ – or social work.

The early Salvationists believed that talking about the love of God, without meeting the basic human needs of the people was incomprehensible, and thus it was important to show the love of God in practice (Linsell, 1997). William Booth saw the poverty, hunger, and unemployment in East London, and felt it was impossible to preach to those with empty stomachs. As a result, the Army dispenses hot soup and bread along with the Word of God (Bolton, 1980). However, the incorporation of social work into

the mission of The Salvation Army is most often attributed to the Australian Salvationists. Bolton (1980, p.113) states that:

‘This early work was experimental, a spontaneous response to the need of a society without government social services and where divisions between poor and rich could be acute and dreadful. Much of the work was started unofficially or as an experiment because The Salvation Army advances amongst the poor made it acutely aware of material needs’.

Thus, we can see social work as one means by which Salvationists attempted to fulfill their personal mission, and overcome the ‘depravity’ inherent in each and every human being. This approach to welfare has been supplemented by the competency of the organisation in promoting its own work as a particular means of projecting its evangelical and welfare efforts. William Booth had declared himself willing to stand on his head and play a tambourine with his feet if it would bring people to God (Bolton, 1980, p.12). It is therefore no great surprise that The Salvation Army in Australia is historically recognised as an outwardly focused publicity specialist.

This is initially visible in the publication of the *War Cry*, a paper published ‘for the glory of God, the propagation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the extension of His Kingdom’ (Dale, 1952, p.55). The first *War Cry* in Australia was published on 16 June 1883 in Melbourne, with local versions being printed in Sydney and Adelaide in the weeks that followed. In June 1883, printing works for the *War Cry* were established in South Melbourne. Competition among vendors selling the product was intense. They would shout their wares through the streets (Dale, 1952, p.54), whilst the *War Cry* staff printed names of the top sellers, and demanded more of those who had failed, even printing a picture of a tombstone bearing the name of a poorly performing Divisional Officer (Bolton, 1980, p.61). By 1891, the Australian *War Cry* circulation figures had become the third highest in the world (Dale, 1952, p.54).

The arrival in Australia of Major James Barker in September 1882 to assume control of Salvation Army activities saw leading technologies used to promote the Salvos. Barker had himself been a journalist before becoming a Salvationist and one of his

first acts was to circulate the *War Cry* to each of the national daily newspapers (Linsell, 1997). However, it was his encouragement of the Limelight Brigade which brought most attention to The Salvation Army in these early days.

The story goes that William Booth was planning an Australian tour. Major Frank Barrett wished to advertise this, and had heard of an officer called Joseph Perry, who was communicating Christian messages through visual means to released prisoners in Ballarat (Linsell, 1997, p.59). Barker felt this medium could be successful, and in 1890 launched the Limelight Department with Perry as creative artist and technician, and Barrett to give oversight (Bolton, 1980, p.63). On 26 December 1891, the first show 'In Darkest England, and Way Out' premiered in South Melbourne and proved a successful fundraiser (Linsell, 1997, p.59).

The arrival in Australia of William Booth's son Herbert saw investment in new motion picture equipment (Bolton, 1980, p.64), and on 13 September 1900, 'Soldiers of the Cross' played to 4000 people in its premiers at Melbourne Town Hall. In the film, early Christians were 'burnt at the stake, eaten by lions, crucified, hacked to pieces, and thrown into burning lime' (Bolton, 1980, p.65). 'Transferred to a Chamber of Horrors' was the cry of the Melbourne *Argus* the next day, but The Salvation Army soon found such technology to be a good fundraising and evangelical tool (Cleary, 1993, p.59). In coming years The Salvation Army was commissioned to make movies of the celebration of Federation, as well as royal visits. By 1908 there were three Salvation Army film studios in Melbourne (Linsell, 1997).

However, the arrival of Commissioner James Hay in 1909 spelled the end of the Limelight Brigade.

'It should be noted that the cinema, as conducted by The Salvation Army, has led to weakness and a lightness incompatible with true Salvationism and was completely ended by me. This had affected at the time many aspects of finance, but within two years the income of every department was greater than ever' (*in* Bolton, 1980, p.66).

Still, the efforts of The Salvation Army in utilising new technology and practices to attract people to God is an overriding historical theme. The Limelight Brigade allows us to understand the strategic efforts of the Army in bringing people to salvation, and help those most in need. Many of the measures currently used by The Salvation Army to bring attention to their cause, be it for promotions of the Red Shield Appeal, or their use of popular music to convert people to God, are simply linear extensions of this thinking, and demonstrate that the strategy of The Salvation Army has always been to adopt whatever means necessary to create a society which they believe will be better for adopting a friendship with God.

Culture

As argued in Chapter One, culture is the product of several artifacts of unobtrusive power. These include symbols, myth, language, ceremonies, rituals, and settings. Therefore, in order to construct an understanding of the culture of The Salvation Army, it is important to address each of these elements.

Symbols

The Salvation Army has four main symbols. These are the Red Shield, the Crest, the uniform, and the flag. Of these symbols, the Red Shield is the internationally recognised symbol of The Salvation Army. It is also used in the name of The Salvation Army's leading annual fundraising campaign in Australia, the Red Shield Appeal. The Red Shield Appeal has been shown to have a 97 per cent level of awareness on a national scale (Newspoll, 2002), thus demonstrating almost universal familiarity with the Red Shield symbol. This symbol was originally a silver shield with the words 'Salvation Army' written on it. However, the symbol became the Red Shield when the Canadian Salvation Army Officer, Colonel Walter Peacock introduced it into the trenches in France in World War I.

Australians followed suit, and Red Shield work was a central feature of the Army's involvement in World War II. Initially, tents were erected in training camps for the troops in Australia. The idea was to provide refreshments and recreation, and bring a touch of 'family' to the troops away from home (Linsell, 1997). However, soon the

tents moved to the battlefronts in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The aim was to be a service at all times for the troops. Linsell (1997, p.51) provides the following example:

‘One fellow was approached by the Red Shield Officer with a coffee. He was sad looking and white faced. The Salvos asked him what was the matter. The young digger explained he had just carried out his mate from the battle. He had joined up with him and had fought with him. The young digger turned his back to the Salvo to show that the back of his shirt was covered with blood. Can you imagine the surprise for the young digger when the Salvo went to his mobile unit, parked near by, and produced a new clean shirt?’

Hence, the Red Shield became synonymous with the war efforts of The Salvation Army. However, after a period in which The Salvation Army did not again engage in direct publicity through means other than the *War Cry*, the Public Relations Secretary for the Salvation Army’s Southern Territories, Harry Goffin, charged Captain John Smith with the following edict:

‘I want you to wear your boot leather out by re-establishing the name of the Army in the media of Melbourne. I want you to transform the symbol of the Red Shield from its association with War service to be the badge of all the Army services including Evangelical, Welfare, Community and Emergency Services.’ (in Linsell, 1997, p.61)

The Salvation Army required additional income to overcome financial shortfalls caused by its welfare assistance programs. Hayes Advertising in Melbourne agreed to help. Six weeks from the first nationwide doorknock appeal in 1970, there was still a great need for a message. Copywriter McHarrow was sent one night with the Salvos to some homeless men’s shelters. The next morning when McHarrow showed up at work and was asked how his night had gone his response was, ‘Thank God for the

Bloody Salvos. Where would we be without them?’ (Linsell, 1997, p.62). Today, the Red Shield, complete with the famous motto, ‘Thank God for the Salvos’, form the centerpiece of The Salvation Army’s Red Shield Appeal, widely recognised by the public for symbolizing a manifest social conscience (Tarling, 1980).

The crest is another distinct symbol of The Salvation Army. Designed by Captain William Ebdon in 1878, it comprises seven main symbols. These are represented in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: The Seven Symbols of The Salvation Army Crest (Salvation Army, 2006)

The Crown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speaks of God’s reward for his faithful people
The sun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represents the light and fire of the Holy Spirit
The ‘S’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stands for salvation from sin
The cross of Jesus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stands at the centre of the crest and the Salvationist’s faith
The swords	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represent the fight against sin
The shots	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (seven dots on the circle) Stand for the truths of the gospel
Blood and Fire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the motto of The Salvation Army. This describes the blood of Jesus shed on the cross to save all people, and the fire of the Holy Spirit which purifies believers (Salvation Army, 2006).

The Salvation Army is also heavily recognisable by its uniform. This uniform is unique in that it may be used by both clergy and lay members, as distinct from uniforms in other churches which are designated as being only for clergy. When the Mission became the Army in 1878, it was decided that military uniform should be adopted. Captain Elijah Cadman is reported as having said at the time, ‘I should like to wear a suit of clothes that would let everybody know I meant war to the teeth and salvation for the world’ (Salvation Army, 2006). Captain Sutherland is reported as having worn the first Salvation Army uniform seen in Australia. ‘With his red tunic, navy blue trousers, spiked white metal helmet and large metal shield bearing the words ‘Salvation Army’ emblazoned on his left breast, he did nothing to draw attention away from a cause which was fast becoming a heckler’s paradise’ (Tarling, 1980, p.25). The Sutherlands brought twelve more uniforms from London for their new soldiers (Booth, 1980), and it has been recorded that the Salvationists were proud to be seen in it (Tarling, 1980).

The Salvationist's uniform serves three key purposes:

- ‘1. Internally its use provides a sense of identity and indicates membership;
2. Externally it provides a widely recognised symbol of availability and service; and
3. Internationally, it is the most recognised and recognisable cultural icon for Salvationists, part of the glue that holds the denomination together’ (Salvation Army, 2006).

The other defining symbol of The Salvation Army is its flag. Catherine Booth had presented the first flag to the Coventry Corps in 1878. Initially it comprised a red and blue background with a yellow sun. The red was a symbol of the spilt blood of Christ, the blue stood for purity, and the sun symbolised the light and life of men. In 1882, the sun was changed to a star, signifying the cleansing fire of the Holy Spirit (Tarling, 1980). Today the flag is used in ceremonies such as the swearing-in of soldiers, and may also be placed on the coffin at Salvationist funerals (Salvation Army, 2006).

Myth and Language

Myth and language are fundamental to the construction of unobtrusive power. As Astley and Zammuto (1992, p.444) argue with regard to language, ‘words derive their meaning not from the actions or objects that they denote, but from the historical context of discourse, or language game, in which they are used’. Thus, organisations can be seen as consumer, managers, and purveyors of information (Feldman & March, 1981). This management of information may occur through the creation of myths, which have been defined by Hardy (1985, pp.394-395) as ‘fictional narratives and, more explicitly, as narratives of events which explore issues of origin and transformation’.

In this section of the thesis, myths will be presented as narratives of events which explore issues of origin and transformation in The Salvation Army in Australia. The first of these narratives centre on the founding of The Salvation Army in Australia,

with an emphasis on the resistance encountered by the Salvos in their early works. This is important because it documents The Salvation Army's efforts in providing relief through the provision of social work. This is a central feature in attempting to understand the reputation of the Salvos, as Linsell (1997, p.27) discusses, 'the credibility and high esteem of The Salvation Army held by Australians is due to the hard and relevant work in social areas'.

The second narrative examines the resistance to The Salvation Army in Australia from groups of larrikins known as the Skeleton Army. This demonstrates that Salvationists have not always had the wide social acceptance that they enjoy today, and in fact have at times been persecuted for their beliefs. Early Salvationists in Australia were even killed by members of the Skeleton Army. Hence, this narrative shows Salvationists under situations in which they meet resistance and opposition to their ideals.

The third narrative looks at the role of The Salvation Army during times of war. In particular, the efforts of the Salvos in providing comfort and support for Australian soldiers during World War I and II is discussed. Linsell (1997, p.43) declares that 'one of the major reasons for credibility of The Salvation Army in Australia is the Salvos' involvement with the Australian Infantry Forces'. This is important, because it is commonly argued that Australian nationalism had its birth at Gallipoli, and hence the Salvos can be shown to have played an important role in this emerging story through their role in providing assistance to these forces. Tarling (1980, p.60) believes that a 'new' Salvation Army emerged from World War I, 'if they (the Salvos) were prepared to be Soldiers of the Cross in times of war, their countrymen would help them be Soldiers of the Cross in times of peace'. Hence, narratives such as these are essential to our understanding of the reputation of The Salvation Army today.

Narrative 1: The Birth of the Australian Salvation Army

The founding of The Salvation Army in Australia is attributed to the meeting between two men at an evangelical gathering in Adelaide in May 1880. John Gore and Edward Saunders had both been members of The Salvation Army in London, but had left to work as gangers on the South Australian railways in the late 1870's (Linsell, 1997).

The meeting was held by evangelist Matthew Burnett, who called for testimonials. At this instance, Gore stood up and said:

‘God has saved my soul. I, John Gore know that I am converted, and the Devil can’t rob me of that. I was born again at the Edinburgh Castle, Stepney, London, on September 3rd, 1867, at a meeting conducted by Reverend William Booth, Founder of The Christian Mission – now called The Salvation Army...’ (in Dale, 1952, p.2).

Dale (1952, p.2) reports that Edward Saunders, upon hearing this, ‘began to squirm in his pew’. Unable to contain himself he exclaimed ‘Glory to God!’ (Bolton, 1980, p.10) and told that he too had found salvation through the Christian Mission. Both Gore and Saunders were migrants, both soldiers in The Salvation Army, and both eager to once more be involved in street evangelism (Bolton, 1980, p.10). Upon completion of the meeting Saunders and Gore sought each other out, and such was their excitement that they headed out that evening to hold an open-air meeting in Light Square – the rendezvous of ‘thieves, rogues, and vagabonds’ (Dale, 1952, p.2).

Following this, both men sat down and penned letters to William Booth asking his assistance in forming The Salvation Army in Australia. Gore implored of Booth, ‘We need you as quickly as fire and steam can bring you...’ (in Dale, 1952, p.3), whilst Saunders suggested in his letter the very people whom he believed would be most able to assist in this southern mission. Booth’s assistance was indeed forthcoming, but was precipitated by Saunders and Gore who held a meeting with other interested persons on August 31, 1880 and determined after prayerful consideration to launch The Salvation Army in Australia.

On the morning of September 5, 1880, the following message appeared in The South Australian Advertiser:

‘SALVATION ARMY will appear at Labour League Hall, Hindley Street, Sunday evening, at 7 p.m. All are invited’ (in Dale, 1952, p.3).

Taking this message to the people, Gore and Saunders provided the people of Adelaide with an open-air service during the afternoon of that day. Standing under a red gum in Adelaide's Botanic Gardens on the tailboard of a fruit cart, Gore began the service by declaring 'if there's any man here who hasn't had a meal today let him come home with me' (*in* Bolton, 1980, p.7). There was also singing, and music provided by a little harmonium from Saunders. Larrikins in the crowd heckled their efforts, but a Justice of the Peace had these people taken away (Dale, 1952). That night at the Labour League Hall meeting five people were registered into The Salvation Army (Dale, 1952).

These opening days of The Salvation Army in Australia were hard, and meetings were frequently interrupted by larrikins yelling abuse and slander at the Salvationists. However, William Booth heeded the call for assistance from Gore and Saunders, and in January 1881, Captain and Mrs Thomas Sutherland were sent to the Australian colonies. They left London on the ship the Aconcagua, and arrived in South Australia on 11 February. Of great importance was their cargo, which contained twelve new uniforms, six for the men and six for the women. These uniforms soon inspired the larrikins to violence, and at street meetings the Salvationists were pelted with soot, flour, and rotten fruit (Bolton, 1980, p.13).

One of Captain Sutherland's first achievements was the creation of the first Salvation Army band south of the equator, known as Adelaide 1 (Dale, 1952, p.5). Photographs show eleven men in this band, with James Hooker the bandleader. From these humble beginnings, The Salvation Army began to blossom in many parts of Australia including Sydney, Hobart, Melbourne, and Brisbane.

Narrative 2: The Larrikins and Resistance to the Salvos

Despite the elevated position of The Salvation Army in Australia today, there has been pockets of resistance since the beginning. This is particularly apparent in early historical accounts where there is often discussion of groups known as the 'Skeleton Army'. The Skeleton Army were groups of larrikins, and they would march behind a card which bore the name of their institution, and beneath a skull and crossbones (Linsell, 1997). Bolton (1980, p.68) describes how these gangs would march

alongside the street processions and howl their own versions of Salvationist songs, or disrupt services in the halls by being noisy and unpredictable.

Booth's response to such attacks in London was to issue a Salvationist battle cry:

'Go to them... There are certain parts in every town where they are to be found. You need not be in a neighbourhood a single day without knowing their haunts. But what if they kill you? Well, you must die. You have often sung and said that you would. Now, here's a chance!' (*in Bolton, 1980, p.72*).

Indeed, the list of casualties in Australia suggests Booth's words were heeded. Bolton (1980, p.72) notes that both Cadet Thompson of Parramatta, and Elizabeth Templeton from Sydney died from injuries inflicted by the Skeleton Army. Others were hit on the head with bricks, knocked off bridges, and assaulted with stones and other missiles.

Dale (1952, pp.33-34) describes some of the attacks in South Australia:

'At Clare, South Australia, every appearance of Salvationists in the streets was a sign for the outbreak of spiteful attacks. 'Salvation Army eggs,' priced at 3d. per dozen, were exhibited in shop windows. These were part of a delayed consignment which had gone bad. The soldiers wore overcoats and cloaks on the march, dropping the protective garments in tubs of water provided outside the hall door. This precaution was necessary because of the filth with which their clothing was saturated. On Guy Fawkes Day the Skeleton Army, wearing skull and crossbones on black coats, marched the streets bearing aloft an effigy of the Officer. This they hung on a gum tree and burned it amid the dancing of an excited mob'.

These gangs often opposed the work of The Salvation Army because they were paid to do so. In particular, the Army's opposition to billiard rooms and hotels caused a backlash from well-off publicans. At Kapunda, in South Australia, the local publican sent red-hot pennies onto the Salvationists after they had interrupted business by dissuading the local town band from playing outside the bar (Bolton, 1980, p.71). Dale (1952, p.34) notes the case of a publican who confessed to paying a man over fifty pounds to persecute the Salvationists, whilst Linsell (1997, p.12) claims that in Newcastle the Skeletons were known as the 'Publican Skeletons'.

Narrative 3: The Salvos and War

Linsell (1997, p.43) believes that 'one of the major reasons for the credibility of The Salvation Army in Australia is the Salvos' involvement with the Australian Infantry Forces'. Indeed, stories of the Salvation Army and their involvement with Australian troops appears very important to constructing an understanding of the institution's reputation. The centrality of war efforts to The Salvation Army's history can be seen by the fact that the Red Shield, the widely recognised symbol of the Salvos in Australia, was established on the World War I battlefields of France (Linsell, 1997, p.44).

The Salvation Army has been involved in every war Australia has participated in from the Boer War to peace keeping in Cambodia in 1993 (Linsell, 1997). Initially this was reflected through the establishment of Red Shield Huts at training camps throughout Australia, but this service was soon extended overseas as Australian troops fought on foreign soil. At Le Havre, in France, the Red Shield Hut used symbols of the Red Shield and the kangaroo to encourage soldiers to 'hop in' (Booth, 1980, p.212). These huts would provide hot drinks and food to the weary soldiers (Dale, 1952), and were prominent in raising the visibility of The Salvation Army on the battlefield.

One of the stories told more fondly by Salvationists of their wartime involvement is that of Will McKenzie. Linsell praises McKenzie for 'his bravery, his love and service for his mates, his undying spirit of optimism, his disregard for authority, even his Greek 'God-like' physical appearance' (1997, p.47). Sent away on a boat with the 4th Battalion to Egypt, McKenzie was initially spurned by the troops when he attempted

to start communal singing. However, they soon warmed to him, and joined in with the songs (Bolton, 1980, p.213). When the battalion reached Egypt, McKenzie even took part in training and marched with the troops (Linsell, 1987, p.47). When they reached the battlefield of Gallipoli though was when McKenzie demonstrated great courage. He would gather the troops in for prayer before they went into battle, and when the men went forward to fight – so too would McKenzie go with them. ‘I’ve preached with you and I’ve prayed with you’, he said, ‘do you think I’m afraid to die with you?’ (*in* Bolton, 1980, p.213). Stories of McKenzie’s courage are numerous.

‘Under shell-fire he brought out the wounded, prayed with the dying and buried the dead. He filled sand-bags with the identity discs and paybooks of the fallen so that a record could be kept and information sent to their relatives. After his arduous days, he wrote late into the night sending last messages to parents and wives back in Australia. And, as he wrote, every word wrenched the big, gentle man who had children of his own’ (Bolton, 1980, p.213).

After following Australian troops onto the French battlefields later in the war, McKenzie was recalled by The Salvation Army to Australia in 1917. His public popularity is demonstrated by the fact that he was greeted by a crowd of over 6,000 people at Melbourne’s Exhibition Building (Dale, 1952).

The Salvation Army also was heavily involved in World War II. It was the only philanthropic association present in Tobruk during the siege. Major Harold Hosier and Adjutant John Blake were prominent in burying the dead, serving refreshments, and holding church parades. ‘All around you is the scream of bursting shells’, wrote Hosier, ‘but with it all I had a wonderful inner peace’ (Bolton, 1980, p.218). Involvement in this war also involved greater coordination on the home front, with the Salvos featuring in an evacuation of women and children from Darwin in 1941 (Bolton, 1980). A significant part of this home effort was the role of the women Salvationists, who helped with outfitting the troops in reception camps, provided refreshments in Training Camps, and knitted garments for bomb victims overseas (Dale, 1952, p.99).

The stories of Adjutant Albert Moore's efforts in Syria are also fondly remembered in Salvation Army histories. Moore provided refreshments for troops in the nation's steep mountains, but his mobile canteen could not travel on the steep tracks. He therefore used two mules to take the supplies, and placed the Red Shield emblem on them (Bolton, 1980, p.220). 'When the tracks were too steep for even the mules, Moore humped the supplies on his own back – slithering down rough trails into camp just in time to tune his radio in to the BBC so that the men could listen to the news while he boiled water for tea and coffee' (Bolton, 1980. p.220).

These are just some of the numerous examples of stories of courage and dedication shown by The Salvation Army toward Australia's military forces. Linsell (1997, p.43) is quite definite as to the impact of the efforts of the Salvos, claiming 'the egalitarian attitude of the Salvos, the creative larrikinism and the 'never say die' attitude, support for the underdog, matched with unquestioning bravery branded the Salvo with not only the imprint of ANZAC, but with the 'spirit of Australia'.

Rituals, Ceremonies and Settings

The rituals and ceremonies of The Salvation Army are highly religious in character. They are based around the evangelism on which the Salvos founded their mission. Hence, the most apparent rituals are those in which faith is central. This applies most obviously to local church worship at Army Corps, however other evangelical rituals have been apparent in open-air meetings, and through the use of the Salvation Army band. This section will examine the manner in which these rituals have developed.

Turning firstly to church services, The Salvation Army did not originally have churches. Hence, in its founding days, revival meetings would be held in the slums. The push in these meetings was to preach from the gospel, and channel any converts to existing churches of other denominations. These meetings were reported to be very successful, and William Booth was reported to attract 'thousands to his addresses' (Tarling, 1980).

In Australia, open-air meetings were initially used as a vehicle to attract the masses. The Melbourne corps soon reported that they had been able to save sinners 'on the

spot' courtesy of such gatherings (Tarling, 1980). Bolton (1980) records that meetings were also held in dance halls, theatres, and public houses. In 1883, Major James Barker conducted an indoor meeting at the Exhibition Buildings in Melbourne and over 10,000 people are reported to have been in attendance (Linsell, 1997). However, soon the Salvos created their own meeting spaces so that they could preach to those they were attempting to save. In the early 1880's the Salvos built their own premises in Australia for the first time in the Melbourne suburb of Prahran (Tarling, 1980).

The Salvation Army has therefore traditionally had two forms of worship services. These were known as the holiness and salvation meetings (Cleary, 1993). These were both held on a Sunday, the day on which Salvationists observe a day of rest in respect of the fourth commandment (Public Questions Board, 1992a). The evening service was known as the salvation meeting, and its purpose was directly evangelical in looking to win converts to Christ, whilst the morning service was of a more personal nature. Known as the holiness meeting, it emphasised building a personal relationship with God (Salvation Army, 2006). Since the 1990's, The Salvation Army has moved away from these two distinct meetings in an effort to employ the fresh approach to worship as advocated by pioneering Salvationists. In particular, an attempt has been made to adopt forms of pop culture, particularly music, to meet people 'where they are at' (Salvation Army, 2006).

Music has always been central to Salvation Army worship. The first Salvation Army band in the southern hemisphere was formed in Adelaide in 1881, with Captain Sutherland enlisted to play the clarinet (Tarling, 1980). Bolton (1980, p.55) demonstrates the role of the band in street meetings when quoting a Melbourne Salvationist in 1886:

'Some nights this week we have had 40 soldiers in the march. Away through the streets we go, singing and dancing; timbrels rattling; band playing; people following us to the barracks; many inquiring, 'What sort of march tonight?'... If we cannot put out the fires of hell, we can help to stop the supplies of fuel'.

For The Salvation Army, music holds great symbolic value in worship because ‘the art points members of Army congregations to something greater and other than themselves’ (Salvation Army, 2006). Initially it was a way of providing entertainment to the masses, and people would follow the procession back to the Army Halls for joyful church services (Linsell, 1997). Today, the Salvos boast various musical ensembles, covering a broad variety of combinations of music from rock to classical, to pop (Salvation Army, 2006).

Sacraments in The Salvation Army are celebrated differently to other churches. William Booth initially feared that converted alcoholics could be led astray by the consumption of communion wine. This is in keeping with the Salvation Army belief that the only certain guarantee against addiction to alcohol is total abstinence (Public Questions Board, 1992b). For a period of four years from 1880 onwards, The Salvation Army is recorded as having administered sacraments. However, General Bramwell Booth is said to have been the last member of The Salvation Army to have served the Lord’s Supper (Cleary, 1993). As a result, Salvationists have not celebrated rituals of baptism and communion since 1883 (Salvation Army, 2006). Salvationists argue that nowhere does the Scripture teach that the observance of a particular ritual is essential to salvation (Public Questions Board, 1992c). Hence, it is held that ‘as God meets us in Jesus, we can receive his grace without prescribed rituals and experience real communion with him by the exercise of faith’ (Salvation Army, 2006). The Salvation Army has therefore proffered the following sets of statements regarding baptism and Holy Communion:

Table 4.2: Salvation Army Statements Regarding Baptism and Holy Communion (Salvation Army, 2006)

BAPTISM	
1.	Only those who confess Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord may be considered for soldiership in The Salvation Army
2.	Such a confession is confirmed by the gracious presence of God the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer and includes the call to discipleship
3.	In accepting the call to discipleship Salvationists promise to continue to be responsive to the Holy Spirit and to seek to grow in grace.
4.	They also express publicly their desire to fulfil membership of Christ’s Church on earth as soldiers of The Salvation Army.

-
5. The Salvation Army rejoices in the truth that all who are in Christ are baptised into the one body by the Holy Spirit (1 Corinthians 12:13).
 6. It believes, in accordance with scripture, that ‘there is one body and one Spirit... one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is over all and through in all (Ephesians 4:5-6)
 7. The swearing-in of a soldier of The Salvation Army beneath the Trinitarian sign of the Army’s flag acknowledges this truth.
 8. It is a public response and witness to a life-changing encounter with Christ which has already taken place, as is the water baptism practiced by other Christians.
 9. The Salvation Army acknowledges that there are many worthy ways of publicly witnessing to having been baptised into Christ’s body by the Holy Spirit and expressing a desire to be His disciple.
 10. The swearing-in of a soldier should be followed by a lifetime of obedient faith in Christ.

HOLY COMMUNION

1. God’s grace is freely and readily accessible to all people and at all times in all places.
 2. No particular outward observance is necessary to inward grace.
 3. The Salvation Army believes that unity of the Spirit exists within diversity and rejoices in the freedom of the Spirit in expressions of worship.
 4. When Salvationists attend other Christian gatherings in which a form of Holy Communion is included, they may partake if they choose to do so and if the host Church allows.
 5. Christ is the one true Sacrament, and sacramental living – Christ living in us and through us – is the heart of Christian holiness and discipleship.
 6. Throughout its history The Salvation Army has kept Christ’s atoning sacrifice at the centre of its corporate worship.
 7. The Salvation Army rejoices in its freedom to celebrate Christ’s real presence at all meals and in all meetings, and in its opportunity to explore in life together the significance of the simple meals shared by Jesus and by the first Christians.
 8. Salvationists are encouraged to use the love feast (fellowship meal) and develop creative means of hallowing meals in home and corps with remembrances of the Lord’s sacrificial love.
 9. The Salvation Army encourages the development of resources for fellowship meals, which will vary according to culture, without ritualising particular words or actions.
 10. In accordance with normal Salvation Army practice, such remembrances and celebrations, where observed, will not become established rituals, nor will frequency be prescribed.
-

Hence, The Salvation Army witnesses different ceremonies to those of other churches. In place of baptism, there is a ceremony known as ‘dedication of the child’. This means that Salvationists symbolically return their sons and daughters to God, based on the dedication of the prophet Samuel by Hannah in the Old Testament. Instead of communion, people are made members of The Salvation Army at a swearing-in

ceremony, in which they give their allegiance to God, the doctrines and beliefs of The Salvation Army (Salvation Army, 2006).

Perhaps the most significant ceremonial award in The Salvation Army is the Order of the Founder. Inaugurated in 1917, five years after the death of William Booth, its purpose was to 'recognise Salvationists who had rendered distinguished service, such as would have specifically commended itself to the Founder' (Salvation Army, 2000, p.20). By the year 2000, the award had only been presented to 100 officers and 103 lay Salvationists over an 82-year period. It is a rare honour because a panel of senior leaders at International Headquarters carefully scrutinises all nominations.

Conclusion

The immediate conclusion is that the discussion in Chapter Three allows us to place the philosophy of The Salvation Army into the Christian tradition of the practice of virtue over vice. Such a philosophy places The Salvation Army at odds with much of the broad liberal society, and hence the Salvos will be subject to the intersecting gaze of a panopticon of stakeholders, including clients, government, and the media. This makes the outstanding reputation of The Salvation Army a remarkable feat, and indicates the organisation has been highly effective in managing its reputation.

The practice of virtue over vice has provided The Salvation Army with two main missions. These are the passionate practice of evangelism, and the undertaking of charitable works. Such activities are practiced against the background of a battle between the depraved nature of humanity and victory in ultimate salvation. In this sense, we are able to see and understand both the motivation and method of action employed by The Salvation Army.

Following on from this, the artifacts of unobtrusive power, as expressed through narrative, can be seen to provide a strong basis for supporting this mission. It is worthwhile to recap. The structure of The Salvation Army follows a military-style structure, thus serving to symbolise the war waged for salvation on behalf of God, and strengthening in particular the evangelical side of the mission. The leadership of William and Catherine Booth emphasises their efforts both in converting the masses

and providing relief to the starving. The strategy and values of The Salvation Army, particularly the undertaking to lead a holy life compel the Salvationist to live life as Christ would have. Biblical knowledge provides an understanding of Christ's life as heavily based on converting people to God, and relieving people of starvation and disease. Symbols within The Salvation Army such as the Red Shield serve to remind the Salvationist of the fight against sin, and the triumph of salvation – once more emphasising the evangelical nature of the organisation. Myths and language directly support the mission, particularly as they glorify stories of men and women Salvationists battling adversity to provide compassion and convert people to God. Finally, rituals and ceremonies demonstrate a passionately evangelistic organisation, dedicated to innovative means to attract converts, and willing to reject traditions of other churches in pursuit of its own beliefs.

Thus, we now have a formative understanding of the historical, philosophical, and social elements which have combined to create the outstanding reputation which The Salvation Army enjoys with the Australian public. What is not so apparent is whether this understanding is consistent with the views and experiences of modern day Salvationists. Hence, the next chapter utilises accounts of five Salvos to confirm or disconfirm this understanding.

CHAPTER FIVE – SALVOS AS SUBJECTS

Introduction

The objective of this Chapter is to construct an image of the modern day Salvation Army. Chapter Four utilised secondary material to construct an historical understanding of The Salvation Army. This was set out according to the elements of unobtrusive power as outlined in Chapter One. The rationale behind this approach is that organisations seek to manage their reputation by managing the meaning of external stakeholders, and they will attempt to pursue this objective through the exercise of unobtrusive power. Chapter Four sought to provide an overview of the elements of unobtrusive power in The Salvation Army from an historical perspective. This information was sourced from historical accounts of The Salvation Army as written by Salvationists.

In order to supplement this constructed historical understanding, the current chapter examines the Army's present day context. To construct this chapter, the stories of modern day Salvationists are utilised. In all, the voices of five Salvationists are heard. Four of these voices have been sourced through face-to-face interviews, whilst the voice of Major Joyce Harmer is heard through Henderson's (2005) biography *An Angel in the Court*. This book provides another insight into The Salvation Army in that the author, Anne Henderson, is not a Salvationist, and much of her previous writing has been on Australian political figures. The personal interviews provide further potential for differentiation. The interviews are of the Salvos, but they have been constructed, analysed, and written up by me. In utilising sources that are not directly associated with The Salvation Army, this chapter therefore has potential to expand on the understanding constructed in Chapter Four.

Once again, the discussion is structured according to the elements of unobtrusive power as detailed in Chapter One. This allows for preliminary verification of material gathered from secondary sources in Chapter Four. It also encourages the development of a comprehensive understanding of the elements of unobtrusive power as they are structured in The Salvation Army.

The interviewed Salvationists were deliberately selected from different age groups. The intention of this was to provide different perspectives and experiences of The Salvation Army. The youngest, Salvationist D, was in her early twenties and attending the University of Tasmania. Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B were in their mid-60's and had recently retired from active Salvation Army duty. Finally, Salvationist C was in his mid-80's, and considered himself to have been a Salvationist for the best part of eight decades.

These interviews were conducted at a preliminary stage of the research. This happened before a theoretical lens had been adopted which viewed reputation management as concerning the management of meaning in stakeholders through the exercise of unobtrusive power. Hence, questions asked of the Salvationists had not been devised to provide specific understanding of the elements of unobtrusive power. The result is that it is not possible to extract extensive information on certain elements of unobtrusive power such as formal structure and leadership. However, it has since been interesting to note the centrality of elements of unobtrusive power such as mission, strategies, values, myths, language, symbols, ceremonies, and settings, to the interviews. This serves as preliminary support of the contention that strong structures of unobtrusive power exist in The Salvation Army to enable excellence in reputation management.

Finding Salvation: The Lives of the Interviewed Salvationists

Before providing an overview of the responses of Salvationists to questions posed in interviews, it is important firstly to contextualise the research. The aim of this section therefore is to discuss in brief detail the lives of the Salvationists interviewed, as well as Major Joyce Harmer. In doing this, it is hoped that the reader will gain a broader understanding of the responses of the Salvationists to questions asked.

In undertaking the endeavour to provide a contextual overview, we turn firstly to Mr and Mrs Salvationist B. Mr Salvationist A was a fourth generation Salvationist. He first became a junior soldier at age seven. His mother had been presented with the Order of the Founder for her work with The Salvation Army, the highest award possible. She had brought up the children in the family almost by herself, as his father

had been killed in the War in 1940. After that, his mother went about setting up the Corps in Sandy Bay (Hobart suburb). Initially, she converted an old cow shed and cleaned it out to turn it into a meeting place, however, the Corps was firmly established when a hall was moved from Derby in the State's north. Meanwhile, Mrs Salvationist B had been born into a family in which her mother was a Salvationist, and her father was a member of the Wesley Church. Hence, she was christened in the Wesley Church at the age of five.

Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B were married in 1958, and went to training college for one year. They then were stationed in a few places in country Victoria, such as Hamilton, Kaniva, and Horsham. They then returned to Tasmania so Mr Salvationist A could serve as Divisional Secretary for about eighteen months. The Army then called on them to return to Victoria, where they operated the Corps in Geelong. Following that, they returned to Tasmania, where they have performed a number of roles, including the establishment of the Corps at Blackman's Bay.

I interviewed Mr Salvationist C in his house in the Hobart suburb of Lenah Valley on 16 May 2002. At the time he was 85 years old and had been involved with the Salvos since the age of five. He provided an epic tale of his involvement in The Salvation Army, which covered Depression, war, and moving to the other side of the planet.

Mr Salvationist C and his twin brother were born in Derbyshire, England between the two world wars. His father was not oriented toward Christianity, whilst his mother was of the Anglican denomination. After coming back from the First World War, Mr Salvationist C's father moved the family to Nottinghamshire and opened a small fish and chip shop. During the day he worked by loading sand, and at night he would come home to operate the fish and chip shop. When he walked through the door, the children would be sitting there peeling potatoes and putting them into a big drum so that the chips would be ready.

Mr Salvationist C said that one day, out of the blue, his father asked if the children would like to go to Sunday school. The children answered 'yes', without asking why, where, or what it entailed. Mr Salvationist C's father then gave the child of the next-

door neighbour a shilling to take his own children to The Salvation Army Sunday school. Hence, Mr Salvationist C's introduction to the Salvos.

Then hard times beset Mr Salvationist C's family. The depression came, and on top of it there was a coal strike. This meant that the family could not fire the chip pans, and also that those out of work could not afford fish and chips. This sent Mr Salvationist C's father broke. Initially he had borrowed money to start the business from his sister, and he could no longer afford to pay her back. This played on his conscience, and he had a mental breakdown.

Mr Salvationist C continued:

'Well that meant no income. We had nothing, and if you asked for help they'd come along, and they'd say 'you've got a table there – sell it'. And that's how we finished up, and we finished up with no home, sometimes not a crust of bread in the house. We finished up with five boys. I was the eldest. But we all sat around the table, nothing on, and somebody would bring a bag of bread crusts. Well that would do us, that was our meal' (Personal Communication, 2002b).

Eventually the marriage of Mr Salvationist C's parents broke down, and the boys contrasted the affection they felt at The Salvation Army's Sunday school with their home situation. Mr Salvationist C now claimed that he was pushed towards his association with the Salvos by the adversity of his home life.

Mr Salvationist C first went out to earn a living by scrubbing the floors in the house of the lady next door. He was nine at the time. He used to work up until it was time to leave for school – but eventually the family could not afford his bus fare or uniform, hence he left school at age 14. By 16 he managed to find time to join The Salvation Army band, and he had been a member ever since. At 21 he was engaged, and was married at 22. Four months later the war broke out and he entered active military service.

He was initially posted to Cyprus, but was then shifted to the war in North Africa, where he was captured at Tobruk. He was shipped to northern Italy and was kept by the Italians as a prisoner of war for one and a half years. Following the capitulation of Italy in 1943, the Germans came and took the Prisoners of War from Mr Salvationist C's camp to East Germany. There, Mr Salvationist C spent the next eighteen months extending a railway line, before the war ended. Mr Salvationist C believed that the lessons from The Salvation Army Sunday school kept him on the rails during his imprisonment. When he finally returned to England, Mr Salvationist C was able to see his daughter for the first time. She had been born just four months after he left for war, and was five years old by the time he first laid eyes on her.

During the war, Mr Salvationist C's wife had moved to Yorkshire to work. Her parents lived there, and they helped to bring up the little girl. When Mr Salvationist C arrived back in England, his wife did not wish to leave Yorkshire. The main employment where she lived was in coalmines, but Mr Salvationist C did not want to work in mines.

Eventually though Mr Salvationist C and his wife worked through their problems, but he admitted that his daughter did not want to speak to him because of how long he had been away. In the end, he moved to Yorkshire, but could not work in the coalmines because he had a bad chest. Instead he went to work on the buses. This period lasted fifteen and a half years – he started as a conductor, then a driver, then he was an inspector, and eventually he became an inspector in charge of a sub-depot.

All of this changed when his daughter saw an advertisement in the English *War Cry* looking for a Salvationist family to move to Australia. Mr Salvationist C's family applied and were successful in their application. They were then told they would be going to Tasmania. Mr Salvationist C knew nothing of Tasmania, so he looked it up in an encyclopaedia at the local library. He found two pictures – one of Mount Wellington (the mountain near Hobart) covered in snow, and the other of an aboriginal pulling the head off a snake. From this he presumed the population was entirely aboriginal.

By this stage there were four children and Mr Salvationist C's wife was also quite ill. She had significant chest infections, and the family doctor advised that clean, fresh air and warmth would do her good. So, the family decided to move to Tasmania. Mr Salvationist C worked in Hobart driving buses. He was able to afford a mortgage and a house, and he even managed to find an old car. His wife lasted 27 more years with her bad chest – Mr Salvationist C described them as '27 bonus years' (Personal Communication, 2002b).

In comparison, Ms Salvationist D's story is short. Ms Salvationist D was a young Salvationist aged twenty. She had been born into The Salvation Army, and had made a spiritual decision that the Army was the 'right place to be' (Personal Communication, 2002c). Her involvement with the Salvos was obviously not as comprehensive as that of the Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B, and Mr Salvationist C, however she was an actively practicing Salvationist with a strong level of participation in youth groups and the musical side of worship. Her views on a number of issues supplemented those provided by the other interviewees.

The final Salvationist we hear from in this chapter is Major Joyce Harmer. Joyce Harmer was born in 1940 in Gympie, Queensland. Her father was a strict Salvationist, and introduced Joyce to the Army from her very earliest days. It was during her time in worship in her mid-teens that she first met Hilton Harmer. Eventually they started dating, much to the displeasure of her father, who did all he could to stop the two seeing each other as a result of a grudge he held against Hilton's father. However, the two maintained their relationship, and were eventually married in 1960. At the time, Joyce's father had come around, and had no objections to the union. Since then, both Joyce and Hilton have made an immense contribution to The Salvation Army across a number of areas. However, the issue to be examined in this chapter is Joyce's support of convicted child killer Kathleen Folbigg during her trial for the murder of her four children (Henderson, 2005).

Formal Structure

Interviewees were not directly asked about the formal structure of The Salvation Army. Nor was such information forthcoming in the interviews, and hence it is not

possible to extrapolate relevant information for this feature. However, it is possible to supplement the understanding constructed in Chapter Four because Henderson (2005) has considered the formal structure in her biography of Major Joyce Harmer.

Indeed, whereas Linsell (1997) and Bolton (1980) failed to identify the inspiration for the Salvos' military structure, Henderson (2005) is able to attribute the Army's formal structure to William Booth's first Commissioner, George Railton. Railton is reported to have been the ideological force in the early Mission and Army – even provoking the movement toward militant Christianity. As an example, he led the Army's first overseas preaching 'force' to the United States in 1880. Considered a firebrand preacher, his speeches were full of zeal:

'Where is the holy war?' Railton cried in his preaching.
'Where is the terrible energy displayed in the attacks upon sin? Where is there a hard, unbending advance to exterminate wrong? Is not Christianity today a simple attempt to please all men and to give no offence to any? The Christian Mission is war, war to the knife' (Henderson, 2005, p.56).

Through Railton's influence, William Booth adopted the rhetoric of war. Taking on the title of General, Booth now issued general orders to his followers, such as the General Order Against Starvation, in which he urged Salvationists not to go without food (Henderson, 2005). In this sense, Booth was able to adopt the language of a leader. Thus we can see the adoption of the military structure both as resulting from an evangelical mission, and through the orders of Booth as providing a strong image for Salvationists the world over.

Leadership

Once again, leadership was not an issue which arose during the natural course of the interviews. However, the lives of William and Catherine Booth are once again a part of discussion in the work of Henderson (2005). This portrayal is characteristically similar to that presented in Chapter Four. The Booths come across as evangelists,

known for their ‘stirring revival meetings and growing legions of followers’ (Henderson, 2005, p.55). The target audience of this preaching were the destitute and socially shunned. Both William and Catherine Booth wanted their movement to be ‘fresh and invigorated’, and they believed they could ‘found a long-lasting chain of heroic evangelists devoted to saving souls and reform of the material and spiritual condition of lost people’ (Henderson, 2005, p.55). Thus, Henderson’s (2005) work characterises William and Catherine Booth in an almost identical fashion to that uncovered in historical readings of The Salvation Army.

Strategy, Mission, and Values

Strategy, mission, and values were perhaps the strongest themes to emerge from analysis of the interview. Indeed, the largest sections of each interview centred around discussion of these topics. The discussions show a group of Salvationists, comfortable with the values they have chosen to display during the course of their lives. However, it also illustrates a tension in the mission, with concern being universally expressed that government requirements are leading to a course of action which emphasises the practice of social welfare, to the possible exclusion of evangelistic ideals. The course of these interviews will now be outlined.

Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B identify with an organisation they believe has had much public acceptance. In particular, Mr Salvationist A remembered being at the 1960 Congress Meeting in Melbourne when Sir Robert Menzies (then Prime Minister of Australia) spoke. According to Mr Salvationist A, Menzies claimed to have a great personal respect for the Salvos. This was based on the fact ‘they (Salvationists) don’t worry about dogma and there’s no mucking about’ (Personal Communication, 2002a). In contemplating the source of this public acceptance, Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B placed emphasis on different historical aspects of The Salvation Army’s work.

Mrs Salvationist B claimed that the increased social acceptance of the Salvos was the result of efforts undertaken by The Salvation Army in World War I and World War II, when the Red Shield went among the troops to provide relief and comfort. Mrs Salvationist B supported her argument by stating:

‘That made a tremendous impact on the community as a whole really, because the fellas would come back and tell their wives or write home and tell their wives about it and how much they appreciated it. Even now when we go around with our Red Shield collecting and when the Officers go around to the pubs with their War Cry’s, they often have reference made to those war times’ (Personal Communication, 2002a).

This was an argument which was echoed in another interview by Mr Salvationist C:

‘its not like being in the front line where the (Salvation) Army people were. The Red Cross were there but they were in the recreation area right down the back and they wouldn’t come up to the front. Our folks were right up with them (the soldiers) and that’s what cemented the name of the Army in my opinion’. He maintained that a result of this was people would come to The Salvation Army straight away if there was a calamity in their personal lives. However, he remained concerned that future generations would be unaware of the Army’s role during the Wars, and that this may change public attitudes to The Salvation Army (Personal Communication, 2002b).

However, Mr Salvationist A placed emphasis on more modern aspects of The Salvation Army’s work, and particularly its efforts in undertaking the annual Red Shield Appeal. Mr Salvationist A said, ‘The Salvation Army has more public acceptance today than it did in the earlier days. I think the Red Shield Appeal has had a lot to do with that’ (Personal Communication, 2002a). Mr Salvationist A also agreed with his wife that the First and Second World Wars were the start of the general acceptance of the Salvos. However, he believed that the Red Shield Appeal was of more relevance now to societal views. In particular, public support had been underpinned by what he claimed was a ‘huge amount of social work’ (Personal Communication, 2002a).

In respect of the mission of The Salvation Army, the impact of the social work was a topic of conversation. In particular, Mr Salvationist A described the Army's social welfare work as 'unmatched' (Personal Communication, 2002a). Both Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B recognised the difference that social work had made to the overall image of The Salvation Army in the eyes of the broader society, even in the perceptions of people not committed to the Christian message as taught by the Salvos. The example they used was of the donation to the Red Shield Appeal by the famous Australian entrepreneur Dick Smith. Below is a short excerpt of the conversation:

Mr Salvationist A: 'I think one thing that describes us very well is that Dick Smith made a couple of years ago... made up the shortfall in The Salvation Army's Red Shield Appeal. It was a very bad year for everybody. He made it up with \$2 million or something like that'.

Mrs Salvationist B: 'Only \$1 [million] I think'.

Mr Salvationist A: 'Anyway... and he's agnostic. Very much so. And so to me that reveals the appreciation of the social work of The Salvation Army has grown tremendously' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

However, in expressing such admiration for achievements in social welfare, Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B opened up another line of discussion. In particular, they expressed concern that welfare assistance was being provided to the detriment of the evangelical side of the Salvos' mission. To construct understanding of this, it is necessary to briefly return to the argument in Chapter Three. In the discussion, it was argued that the adoption of neoliberal philosophies by Australian governments has created new pressures in the charity industry. In particular, such philosophies had placed an onus on welfare providers to compete for government grants, whereby these grants provided the means for charities to supply welfare assistance. Under this approach, the government will only guarantee funds subject to an undertaking from the nominated charity to comply with specific criteria. This requirement for

compliance was a cause of concern to Mr Salvationist A, who worried that it may compromise Salvation Army values:

‘Within the ranks we often wonder whether so much government assistance is a desirable thing when really our main focus... many people find this difficult to believe... the main focus of The Salvation Army is winning people for Christ. That’s our main focus, these other things we do with the same aim in mind... but that is our main focus, to extend God’s Kingdom.... We just wonder if some of the restrictions that the federal government lay down [through grant agreements] on us fully match all The Salvation Army’s principles, or whether our principles are being compromised in any way. We are forced, we have to employ in this day and age everybody... if a person is a Buddhist and they come along we have to employ them now... [but] it may not be the most desirable thing in some ways’ (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Mr Salvationist A perceived a dichotomy, in that government funding had enabled the expansion of The Salvation Army’s social works, but wondered whether this had come at the expense of the evangelical side of operations. Mrs Salvationist B agreed that such government assistance did indeed restrict The Salvation Army in many ways. She felt that this had resulted in a compromise in values, and remarked that these were values to which they had both devoted a lifetime in keeping. ‘We’ve lived our lives according to the rules and regulations of The Salvation Army, and while to some they may seem a little strict, they’ve changed a little bit over the years... but they’re fine principles that have stood us well’ (Personal Communication, 2002a). Later in the interview, Mrs Salvationist B reiterated these concerns, by noting that The Salvation Army now employed qualified people to undertake its social work, as opposed to just employing Salvationists. She said, ‘some of the people we’ve mixed with who have been employed by the Army they don’t sort of come up to our standards, our personal standards and moral standards and things like that’ (Personal Communication, 2002a).

The concern expressed by Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B over the affiliation of governments with The Salvation Army in the provision of social welfare was strongly echoed by Mr Salvationist C. When asked what he considered to be the identifying characteristics of The Salvation Army, he replied, 'I wouldn't say social work, but social work tempered with the spiritual. If it's left to the government it would just be social work'. Mr Salvationist C was strong in his views that governments had compromised the social and spiritual work of the Salvos. He was particularly disappointed with government requirements for volunteer workers.

'I think its (the Salvos' social and spiritual work) been tempered a little bit for the simple reason the government again interfered and made some stipulations about volunteers, and volunteers have got to be covered for this and they've got to be allowed that, so they're not really volunteers are they? ... All of our people were volunteers you see, and now, well like this great big complex in Perth where my son went to be finance manager, and half of their staff now they're not even Salvos. They're not even Christians, so there's a lot of conflict. You don't get through it (work) like you used to do, so that again a lot of it is government intervention. You don't have the chance to show compassion and understanding, it's all figures' (Personal Communication, 2002b).

In particular, Mr Salvationist C was disappointed to have been replaced by a non-Salvationist in his role looking after Red Shield Housing when The Salvation Army won the grant to administer Tasmanian Government Housing Commission homes. However, Mr Salvationist C also acknowledged that much of The Salvation Army's social work would not be possible without the support of government. Despite this, he perceived the opening up of competition in the charity industry as a way for governments to 'offload their responsibilities' (Personal Communication, 2002b). He also acknowledged that the social work had led to greater publicity for The Salvation Army, even admitting that the general public 'don't connect you to be a church'

(Personal Communication, 2002b). Despite this, he felt the emphasis needed to change:

‘Fundamentally and firstly we are a church, and it’s from the church where the volunteers came. If it hadn’t been for the church there would have been no volunteers to start all this off, and we’ve got to get back to the fact to letting them [public] know we are a church’ (Personal Communication, 2002b).

Mr Salvationist C also agreed with Mrs Salvationist B that the employment of people without Salvationist beliefs was a key issue for the modern day Salvation Army. He believed that this had diminished the level of compassion demonstrated in the practice of social welfare as it was the responsibility of these people to be managers. He cast a distinction with The Salvation Army Officers, whom he said used to treat people coming off the streets as ‘just like their own sons’ (Personal Communication, 2002b). The result was that he believed the Christian principles of love, compassion, understanding, and non-discrimination had been lost in the practice of welfare.

Ms Salvationist D was less forthright on this issue. But she did see the mission of The Salvation Army as being both a spiritual outlet, and a practical outlet through the practice of welfare work. The welfare work was something she considered to be important given that there were people who really couldn’t afford things, and the government doesn’t provide for them (Personal Communication, 2002c). However, her views were strong on the employment of non-Salvationists to provide social welfare:

‘Ideally I think it is to be hoped that Salvationists do work in those centres, or Christians, just because it is a feeling that they have the same mission as others I guess... in there, and so kind of the same wavelength. Its [employment of people with different values] caused problems sometimes...’ (Personal Communication, 2002c).

In considering the practice of their own personal values, Mr Salvationist A turned his thoughts to some of the people he had helped over the years, based on The Salvation Army's mission to help everyone. He claimed to have unwittingly given assistance to a man who was arrested only days later for murdering the Vicar's mother at an Anglican Church in Melbourne. He also explained the situation, when looking after a Corps in Melbourne, an Aboriginal wharf lady had knocked on the door at 2.30 am and wanted to be allowed to sleep on the premises. He claimed that at first he thought that the devil had arrived for him, such was the sound of her voice. He wouldn't let her sleep there in case she burned down the property, and took her instead to a police cell. Yet at the same time as dealing with the downtrodden of society, he also claimed to have met ex-Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser in the course of his work, as well as helped the alcoholic wife of an extremely wealthy Presbyterian.

Mrs Salvationist B examined the significance of her Salvationist values by describing her work at the Hobart Women's Prison. This service lasted for a period of seven years, and Mrs Salvationist B was particularly pleased with the trust shown to her by both jail officers and inmates. She told the following story:

'You've got to build up a lot of trust and I felt very privileged there because, well... at one stage the prisoners were doing some work outside and they had babies in prison and I was the babysitter. I was the babysitter while the prisoners were working and I was very impressed with the way I was accepted there, and I thought well maybe its because I was Salvation Army. I like to think it was. I was treated with great respect there' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B also described the efforts of their daughter in providing social welfare to children at home and school. Many of these children came from families traditionally supported through government social work, however, as government had devolved away from the direct provision of social services life had become very difficult for these families. Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B's daughter

was engaged in work which attempted to sort out the problems of children of such families so that they stayed at home rather than became street kids.

Despite their concern that close association with government was diminishing the evangelical side of The Salvation Army's mission, these evangelical values were clearly outlined in several responses offered by Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B. Mr Salvationist A, when asked what made him proud to be a member of The Salvation Army responded, 'the other thing I think that's our main aim, I've seen so many people from good backgrounds as well as very bad backgrounds really find the Lord Jesus Christ as their own personal saviour, and to me that is the greatest thing of all because that's eternal' (Personal Communication, 2002a). This response was further reinforced later in the interview when Mr Salvationist A outlined the rewards of his work with The Salvation Army:

'Most of our term in Hobart I served in a capacity in relation to people who came forward for counselling and wanting to find the Lord as their own personal saviour. It was my job if you like to deal with these people, and the greatest joy was to see when the change came about in their lives. Almost without exception, that would have to be number one because those people were gaining admittance to God's Kingdom' (personal Communication, 2002a).

In considering the difficulties of performing both social and evangelical duties, I asked Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B if the characteristics of The Salvation Army today were as strong as they previously were. Mr Salvationist A responded. 'The purpose is just as strong. While its approach perhaps is in a different way, there's no doubt that the purpose is just as strong. Some people say The Salvation Army went to sleep for a while. If they did, then they're waking up again' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

The response by Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B in outlining the most rewarding aspects of Salvation Army membership, were once again heavily influenced by the spiritual side of the Army's work. For instance, Mr Salvationist A declared:

‘My most rewarding thing that happens in the services, the work within The Salvation Army, is being able to point people to a personal knowledge of Jesus Christ. There’s nothing more like it and there is nothing in this world more important to me than that. I’m not pretending to be a saint, but to me the joy that I get out of seeing someone else enter God’s Kingdom is just remarkable, and if I can play a small part in that, that’s the most rewarding aspect’ (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Like Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B, Mr Salvationist C’s identification with Salvationist values meant he often undertook voluntary assistance work during his spare time. Mr Salvationist C’s family regularly assisted in looking after homes for boys and underprivileged women, and he maintained he rarely went on holidays.

‘Yes, well the kids were still growing up then and (I was) working. The Barrington home, which was a boys home then, there were forty boys. We used to go and look after that for three weeks. Manage forty boys for three weeks and let the manager go for a holiday and then we’d have a week to ourselves to recuperate, to go back to work. We did that for years. You know the Elim Home at West Hobart? Ladies home, underprivileged women – it was a maternity home for years. Well the wife had them (family) there for years on a regular basis helping out there. And if the Officers had to go anywhere or there was a breakdown of officers, we used to go and live up there and look after that. Ashfield Place – we looked after that... We found a lot more opportunities for social work (than in England) and we’ve enjoyed every bit of it’ (Personal Communication, 2002b).

I asked Mr Salvationist C to describe an instance where he had felt a great sense of achievement through being a member of The Salvation Army. He answered that the

recognition shown to him years later by the boys from Barrington and the ladies from Elim gave him great joy.

‘They showed respect and that to me that was a great reward. I mean there’s some of these ladies up at Elim – now they’re all sorts. You’ve got a Mongolian, you’ve got somebody that’s nearly deaf and all this sort of thing. When they see me they still call me Father Salvationist C. We were like mum and dad to them you see. That’s the sort of thing... it just makes you feel at least you made an impression’ (Personal Communication, 2002b).

However, Mr Salvationist C also took great pride in his achievements on the evangelical side of The Salvation Army’s mission. He was the Corps Treasurer in Moonah for 21 years, and maintained the books until the Army had fully paid for the building. Since retirement, he had been able to look at the Moonah Corps, and all the activities for which it had been utilised, and felt a sense of achievement in assisting The Salvation Army to purchase the property.

Mr Salvationist C also discussed what The Salvation Army had meant to him, particularly in his family life. He said:

‘I feel that its been a terrific support for me in the bringing up of my family. Just as I gained from them early people in the Corps, that love they’d shown me that I wasn’t getting at home shaped my life and we tried to show them (the children) to shape their lives. And my youngest one, he’s still fully involved here. So besides our involvement we’ve got a full family involvement [and] that brings its own rewards’ (Personal Communication, 2002b).

In considering these conversations, it is apparent that the interviewed Salvationists are proud of the values they have used to live their lives. They also perceive external threat should these values be undermined by government regulations. Their concern is

that the evangelical side of The Salvation Army's mission is being undermined by a strong emphasis on the provision of social welfare, and they feel that government is to be held accountable for this situation.

Symbols

The interviewees also discussed many strong identifying characteristics of the Salvos. In particular, Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B spoke of the uniform as an important symbol, although they conceded this was now worn less often than in the past. They put this situation down to two factors, the first being the expense of a tailored uniform (approximately \$700), and the second being the shortage of manufacturers. They cited the lady's bonnet as a garment of clothing which could no longer be made because no manufacturer existed with the expertise to make such a garment. Mrs Salvationist B believed 'the general community really miss the bonnet, because it was unusual and rare and people usually have got something on that identifies you as being Army' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B remembered that in the past Officers had even been expected to wear hats, but this was now no longer the case. Today, the uniform was more likely to consist of slacks and a warm jumper, with a Red Shield badge. These garments were not as expensive as previous versions of the uniform, and were thus more attainable to the average Salvationist. However, the concern identified by Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B was that such garments did not provide the same level of public identification as the older uniform (Personal Communication, 2002a).

These same concerns were also identified by Ms Salvationist D because she considered the uniform to be a strong identifying characteristic of The Salvation Army. However, the fact that Salvationists now only wore the uniform on Sundays had reduced the visibility of the uniform, because 'who really sees you in it?' (Personal Communication, 2002c). Ms Salvationist D also believed that the decline in wearing the traditional uniform was one of the most important issues facing The Salvation Army. This was because it would take away from the recognition that many in the community had of the Salvos.

Another distinctive characteristic discussed by Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B was The Salvation Army band. They called this a 'worship band'. Previously, Mr Salvationist A had been a member of the band, and Mrs Salvationist B had been involved in choirs as a songstress. Mr Salvationist A noted that girls were once not allowed in the band, but Mrs Salvationist B explained that girls would now play the tambourine, as well as other instruments. In fact, the bands had now changed significantly, such that they contained many varieties of instrument, from guitars, drums, flutes and recorders to brass instruments.

Ms Salvationist D was able to contribute much to the discussion of the band. Ms Salvationist D had much musical experience, and had utilised this to undertake the practice of both Salvation Army worship and evangelism. She had played the tambourine, and also the drums and guitar. She had contributed to The Salvation Army's church worship by teaching young children how to play the drum during their Sunday School sessions. Her involvement also extended to being the deputy choir leader. Part of the evangelical role of the choir was to travel around the Hobart suburbs and sing Christmas carols. Ms Salvationist D said that following open-air performances of carols, The Salvation Army often received phonecalls from people who were disappointed, as they had missed the performance of the band or choir in their area. These musical activities were an important part of her membership, in particular, Ms Salvationist D considered that the most rewarding elements of The Salvation Army were the fact it provided her with the ability to learn to play musical instruments (Personal Communication, 2002c).

Despite this, Ms Salvationist D considered the brass band to be something that might change because 'it doesn't appeal to youth anymore' (Personal Communication, 2002c). More emphasis was now being placed on rock acts because they had more appeal to the youth. In particular, she noted a band from New Zealand was about to come to Hobart to play a concert.

The *War Cry* was another symbol discussed by Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B. They described it as 'pretty glossy', and vastly different from what it had previously been (Personal Communication, 2002a). A particular feature they noted in the current issues of *War Cry* was a missing persons section where four or five people were listed

under a photo with their last known addresses and names. This was a service The Salvation Army had taken on board since cutbacks in government organisations had diminished the effectiveness of many missing persons units.

Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B explained that many of the symbols of The Salvation Army were based on military terminology. For instance, they utilised the term 'knee drill', which was a name for prayer meetings. The explanation provided for this was that such terminology had been in place since the 1800's, and that the use of military vocabulary had become more popular forms of expression during the course of World Wars I and II.

In asking Mr Salvationist C about the symbols of The Salvation Army, he served to highlight an issue which was not apparent in the other interviews. Remembering that The Salvation Army did not originally have its own Corps, and had to use halls and public places to meet, he answered that they now had more assets than they used to:

'They started with nothing. There was no buildings, no halls, nothing. That's why they started with these services in the street and they started outside the local pubs'. He then followed up, '...see, now they've got the buildings, they've got bands, and to my mind in some areas they're in their comfort zone. You haven't got the zeal like they used to have' (Personal Communication, 2002b).

However, overall, we can see a strong level of identification with the symbols of The Salvation Army. This particularly applies to the uniform, and the band, which were considered significant components of a Salvationists' identity. The concern expressed by Mr Salvationist C that The Salvation Army now has many assets such as local Corps, is reflective of an organisation which has evolved from its roots in the slums of East London in the 1880's. The effect this may have had on the evangelistic mission of The Salvation Army is interesting, and as Mr Salvationist C notes, may have had the effect of reducing the zealous conduct of the organisation.

Myths and Language

The myths and language which emerged from the interviews related to some of the myths surrounding The Salvation Army's battles with the Skeleton Army in the late nineteenth century. In particular, both Mr Salvationist A and Mr Salvationist C identified times in their service where they had been subject to violence as a result of the practice of Salvationist doctrine. These conversations therefore mirror those provided in historical accounts of The Salvation Army.

The final narrative expressed in this section is that of Major Joyce Harmer. Just as the stories of the Salvos during the wars served to define The Salvation Army to generations of Australians, so too has the work of Major Joyce Harmer brought a level of unprecedented public prominence to the modern day Salvation Army. If we are to consider that The Salvation Army was originally defined by the conduct of men such as Will McKenzie, and Adjutant Albert Moore during World War I and II, then it is perhaps no small stretch to claim that the modern day Salvation Army has been defined by the efforts of Joyce Harmer during the conduct of the murder trial of Kathleen Folbigg. The parallels in the stories are strong, documenting grace and courage in the face of extreme hardship and difficulty. Hence, using the work of Henderson (2005), a narrative of Major Joyce Harmer's experiences during the trial is produced.

Modern Day Salvationists and The Larrikins

From the interviews, it seemed as though notions of resistance to The Salvation Army had been in force at least up until quite recent times. Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B noted the year of 1972, when the Divisional Commander of the day asked them if they would open a senior service in Blackman's Bay. It was a task Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B undertook eagerly, but it was not without some resistance, as described by Mr Salvationist A:

‘When we first came it was like going back to the old days in the Army. The louts would come around and throw stones on the roof and everything. New building too it was,

so I had to have a word with the police because they would have damaged the place. A couple of trips around by them and we didn't have any more trouble' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Similarly, Mr Salvationist C described some outside work he had undertaken back in England. He recalled that the Police required restrictions on Salvationists as they were marching down the streets. This is because 'two or three times a car would come around the corner and plough through you and it happened a time or two' (Personal Communication, 2002b).

Joyce Harmer

The Harmers first heard of Kathleen Folbigg in late 2002 when contacted by her defence lawyer. Mrs Folbigg had no blood relatives, an estranged husband, and had been shunned by her adopted family. The charges against her were serious – she was accused of having murdered her four young children over a period of years.

The deaths of the first three children (Sarah, Caleb, and Patrick) had initially been put down to Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) or other minor health problems. However, the death of 18 month-old Laura had immediately struck Detective Bernie Ryan as different. Called to the scene of the crime on the day of death, he had immediately noticed anomalies in the Folbigg house. For instance, he could not work out why Laura's sandals and drink bottle were in the lounge room at one end of the house if, as Kathleen claimed, she had carried a sleeping Lauren from the car straight to her bed. As he continued months of investigation, Detective Ryan found that Kathleen's ex-husband Craig had covered up circumstantial evidence against Kathleen in the death of their third child Sarah. He also obtained Kathleen's diaries which she had left with Craig. On 19 April 2001, Detective Ryan arrested Kathleen Folbigg for the murder of her four children.

It was under these circumstances that the Defence team approached Joyce and Hilton Harmer. They believed Kathleen Folbigg needed support during the trial, and she

would also need help to find accommodation in Sydney. The Defence team wanted the Harmers to provide that level of support to Mrs Folbigg.

The Harmers agreed to provide this support after they met Mrs Folbigg over lunch. They found her to be 'sane, sensible, and quite normal' (Henderson, 2005). Hilton Harmer then found a family who could accommodate Mrs Folbigg for \$200 per week. The Hiltons went halves with the accused on the rent and moved her into her new location. Henderson (2005, p.258) describes the situation. '...Joyce proceeded as she always did. She and Hilton accepted Kathleen as yet another person who found herself surrounded by a tragedy that she had to get through. They made no judgement of her guilt or innocence. Their job was to give her support; the court would do the rest'.

During breaks in court proceedings Joyce and Kathleen would have lunch together. At first they would go out for lunch to a centre across from the courts, but soon the media throng prevented them from doing this. From that point, Joyce would go and buy takeaway food or bring in sandwiches for Kathleen. Joyce also talked to Craig Folbigg (Kathleen's ex husband) and assured him that her relationship with Kathleen was not a 'them' and 'us' situation. Kathleen needed Joyce's support and she would do all she could to provide it. Craig fully accepted the situation. However, Joyce would also privately shed tears for the four Folbigg children and the way they died. Yet her faith led her to believe that 'let them who are without sin cast the first stone'. She would then walk Kathleen Folbigg through the waiting media scrum.

Kathleen Folbigg described Joyce's daily efforts to guide her through the media pack:

'Joyce guided me, protected me, and never once hesitated. The foremost impression came when the media behaved as they usually do. When the scent of blood is in the water. And who is walking proudly, head held high and parting the sea as she walks through? Quite the sight – five feet nothing and the appearance of a lovely little lady that wouldn't hurt a fly. I followed suit quite readily. That is Joyce, teaching in a sublime non-aggressive manner. You

don't even realise you've learned something. Her kindness of heart and soul is never ending, and no-one seems beyond her touch. She reminded me of a pilgrim with strong messages but a soft style' (Henderson, 2005, p.264)

A vivid recollection of Kathleen's was of a trip with the Harmer's in the car from court after a particularly hard day of the trial. On Sydney's Oxford Street, they could see a couple brawling. Joyce told Hilton to stop the car. Kathleen continued the story:

'She (Joyce) dived out of the car, or at least in my stupor from the day that's how it seemed. Joyce had heard the screams of a woman in trouble. What sort, no one knew. So out of the car she gets, brandishing her smile and courage. We went around the block. Once returned where we left Joyce, she opens the door and our gladiator dressed in blue has returned triumphant. She has helped and that's all she needs to do' (Henderson, 2005, p.262).

On 21 May 2003, Kathleen Folbigg was found guilty of murdering her four children. Henderson (2005, p.265) recounted the circumstances as follows:

'When the verdict of guilty was read out, Kath Folbigg broke down again, in a flood of tears, and Joyce once more rushed to her side. She had now to assure her client that she would still support her, even as a convicted murderer. A few moments later, in the chilly cells with hugs and hankies, Joyce told Kathleen she would never desert her, just as the van came to take Mrs Folbigg into the years of confinement that were now her fate'.

Following the trial, Detective Ryan was interviewed by the media and asked if he felt he had been a hero in bringing Kathleen Folbigg to justice. He commented that he didn't feel heroic, and that the trial was a 'story of misery'. However, he saw one positive in the whole affair – the conduct of Joyce Harmer. To Detective Ryan, what

Joyce did for Kathleen Folbigg was ‘nothing short of amazing’. He commented that ‘if you could measure a person’s wealth on the good they have done in their lives, I am sure that Joyce would be a very wealthy person’ (Henderson, 2005, p.268).

To conclude Joyce Harmer’s story it is perhaps worthwhile to return to the views of Kathleen Folbigg. This was written in prison six months after she was sentenced:

‘Joyce comes to see me as often as she can, and always greets me with a smile and listens and allows you [to] be heard. She has also spread her arms around me and created a warm, safe space that invites you to expel all that may be hurting or just to enjoy a hug. An age-old remedy if ever there was one. I know I shall always cherish meeting Joyce Harmer. An eternal effect on my life. Joyce is a gladiator of the world. She eagerly undertakes all that is demanded or asked of her. Spreading kindness and peace into hearts that are open and ready to receive. I was one of those recipients. Bless Joyce, for she would be one that is truly deserving of all praises’ (Henderson, 2005, p.268).

Rituals, Ceremonies and Settings

Rituals, ceremonies, and settings were once again an important component of the interviews. In particular, concern was expressed at declining worship, and mention was also made of the way in which worship had changed in The Salvation Army over time. The following section documents some of the discussion.

Turning firstly, to Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B, we can trace the typical rituals of The Salvation Army from the course of their lives. Having been married in 1958, they then went into training college for one year. In those days, Salvationists were required to present papers three years after the completion of studies to gain church promotion. Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B were then stationed in various places in Victoria such as Hamilton, Kaniva, and Horsham. Then Mr Salvationist A had two breakdowns, and the couple returned to Tasmania so that Mr Salvationist A could take

on the role of Divisional Secretary. After 18 months, Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B then returned to Victoria where they ran the Geelong Corps. Mr Salvationist A speaks of being very busy during this time, claiming they would run seven or eight services on some Sundays.

In considering the practice of these life rituals, and how it had impacted their lives, I asked Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B how they felt the role of The Salvation Army had changed during their time. Mrs Salvationist B's immediate response was that they don't have as many meetings as they used to. Mr Salvationist A believed that this was due to 'the greed of big business', with shops now open on Sundays (Personal Communication, 2002a). Mrs Salvationist B also noted that in previous times there was never any sport on Sundays. Mr Salvationist A also admitted that 'some people have time for family time on Sundays as well, and you really can't expect them to spend all the time in Church' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Mrs Salvationist B then described that their enthusiasm for The Salvation Army was at its greatest in their teenage years. Yet despite this proclamation, their enthusiasm appeared to have remained undiminished over the years. At various stages of their service, they had looked after large and enthusiastic Corps. For instance, they claimed to have conducted seven meetings each Sunday in the early 1970's at Blackman's Bay. Their day would start at 7 am, and the last meeting would start at 7 pm. In comparison, they estimated that Hobart (Tasmania's biggest congregation of today) now conducted only four meetings each Sunday. Open-air gatherings were particularly important during the 60's and 70's, and Salvationists would gather and use microphones or their voices to proclaim the word of God. Mrs Salvationist B even enthused that their voices 'used to echo off the hills at [Hobart suburb] Sandy Bay' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Open-air meetings were now described as 'non-existent' (Personal Communication, 2002a). This was because, since the advent of television, people would just shut the door, close the curtains, and ignore what was happening outside. Mr Salvationist A claimed that unless The Salvation Army involved a big band in their open-air services, then people would not even hear them (Personal Communication, 2002a). Extra meetings had also been diminished by the fact that people now travelled a long

way to reach meetings in their cars, and were looking to move home upon completion of the service. The inference was that when fewer people had cars they would tend to stay around for more services. Later in the interview Mr Salvationist A recalled that in World War II it would be a struggle to get people through the doors at a Corps service, such was the enthusiasm for Church. However, he described today's approach to religion as 'much more apathetic' (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Mr Salvationist C also noted the diminishing nature of outdoor services, and other types of Sunday worship. He reasoned that this was because people now had better jobs and better standards of living. This meant that people now had television, and a variety of non-religious activities on a Sunday. These were activities which were not available when he was growing up (Personal Communication, 2002a).

The location of Corps had also changed over the years. The small Tasmanian town of Waratah on Tasmania's north-west coast was mentioned as having at one stage been the second-largest Corps in Australia behind Sydney Central. At one stage, there were 'outposts', which Officers would visit once a week in large mobile vans to preach to 'one dozen or two dozen people' (Personal Communication, 2002a). The Officer would sit down with the local people, have a cup of coffee, conduct the meeting, and then jump back into the mobile van and go to the next location. The Salvationist A and Bs noted that this type of service was very rarely conducted anymore (Personal Communication, 2002a).

Hence, we can see an organisation adapting to changed conditions in society. Fewer services overall, and the decline of open-air services reflect a difficulty for The Salvation Army in attracting people to God. That small communities such as Waratah once contained so many practicing Salvationists is remarkable given the size of the township today and its separation from major population centres. The practice of business on Sundays, as well as the ability for people to play sport, or their own personal requirements to spend time with family, have served to create a society described as 'apathetic' (Personal Communication, 2002a), and it is against this backdrop that The Salvation Army seeks to follow its evangelical mission.

Conclusion

From this discussion, we can see great consistency in the experiences and practices of modern-day Salvationists, with those of their predecessors. The Army maintains strong emphasis on the symbols, ceremonies, and rituals that sustained previous generations in their practice of Salvationist doctrines. This includes a commitment to prayerful and joyous worship on Sundays, as well as commitment to the wearing of an Army uniform. Whilst both the form of the uniform and the method of worship have changed over time (as evidenced by the move away from brass bands), they remain vital expressions of faith within The Salvation Army, as expressed by the interviewees.

Likewise, there is consistency between the myths and language of the previous generations of Salvationists and those of modern day Salvationists. Given the stories of Mr Salvationist C and Mr Salvationist A, we are able to see that larrikins similar to those of the Skeleton Army were active until quite recent times. However, it is in the story of Major Joyce Harmer that strong parallels can be drawn with the efforts of the Salvationists in World War I and II. Just as William McKenzie was praised in World War I for 'his bravery, his love, and service for his mates' (Linsell, 1997, p.47), Joyce Harmer is portrayed as having 'a kindness of heart and soul [which] is never-ending, and no-one seems beyond her touch' (Henderson, 2005, p.264). Where Adjutant Albert Moore is recorded as having great hardship in World War II, he found a way of overcoming all obstacles. Thus, 'when the tracks were too steep for even the mules, Moore humped the supplies on his own back' (Bolton, 1980, p.220). Similarly, Joyce Harmer is portrayed as having fought the odds in helping Kathleen Folbigg through waiting media hordes. 'The foremost impression came when the media behaved as they usually do. When the scent of blood is in the water. And who is walking proudly, head held high and parting the sea as she walks through? Quite the sight – five feet nothing and the appearance of a lovely little lady that wouldn't hurt a fly. I followed suit quite readily' (Henderson, 2005, p.264.). In these instances, we can see continuity in the myths and language of The Salvation Army, and a consistency in the way in which such stories are told.

However, review of the interview material showed that perhaps the strongest connection of the modern day Salvation Army to its historical roots was in the articulation of values and mission. Much of the interview material centred on discussion by Salvationists of the strong emphasis they sought to place on strategy, mission, and values during their Christian mission. The discussions would indicate the primacy of values and mission to the modern day Salvationist, such that the other facets of unobtrusive power, including structure, leadership, symbols, and myths, serve to support these values. This allows for two preliminary conclusions. Firstly we can see The Salvation Army as having a strong corporate identity, and secondly, we can see individual Salvationists as having strong corporate identification.

Identity is defined as ‘(a) what is taken by organization members to be central to the organization; (b) what makes the organization distinctive from other organizations (at least in the eyes of its beholding members; and (c) what is perceived by members to be an enduring or continuing feature linking the present organization with the past (and presumably the future)’ (Gioia, 1998, p.21). In order to have an identity, organisations must have members for whom their self is defined by organisational identification, whereby, ‘in order to achieve the state of ‘identification’, two components are necessary... a cognitive one, in the sense of awareness of membership; and an evaluative one, in the sense that this awareness is related to some value connotations’ (Tajfel, 1982, p.2).

Even in the areas where greatest tension was demonstrated – that being the display and practice of welfare, to the perceived detriment of evangelism, the debate demonstrated the strong corporate identity of The Salvation Army, and organisational identification of its adherents. This assertion can be explained through two lines of reasoning. The first is that when we look at the manner in which the Salvationists have expressed concern at the pursuit of social welfare goals, as opposed to evangelical interests, fault is attributed not to leaders of The Salvation Army, but rather to the government. Hence, Mr Salvationist A wondered ‘whether so much government assistance is a desirable thing’ (Personal Communication, 2002a), and Mr Salvationist C was stronger in his views that ‘its (the Salvos’ social and spiritual work) been tempered a little bit for the simple reason the government again interfered and made some stipulations about volunteers’ (Personal Communication, 2002b).

These feelings were expressed again when the interviewees considered the challenges facing The Salvation Army. In all interviews, the respondents nominated the employment of people with values different to those of The Salvation Army as a major issue. These were employees of whom Mr Salvationist A said, 'we are forced, we have to employ in this day and age' (Personal Communication, 2002a). The people identified as placing this force on The Salvation Army were the government. In attributing fault to the hand of government, the Salvationists are demonstrating strong organisational identification characteristics, whereby they align their cognitive evaluations with the values and beliefs of the organisation to whom they have committed.

The second line of reasoning is that the tension demonstrated by the Salvationists in pursuing the dual mission, serves as a useful tool for continual renewal and debate on organisational identity. In essence, the tension serves to strengthen the identity of The Salvation Army because it engages internal sensemaking systems, such that the organisation is always seeking to define itself according to larger social systems (Stimpert, Gustafson, & Sarason, 1998). This has significant benefit to The Salvation Army, as demonstrated by Dutton and Dukerich (1991), who show that strong identities will help leaders in the organisation to develop organisational agendas. It also has potential for reputational benefit, in that 'an identity that creates a distinctive and particularly attractive image in the minds of customers of other constituencies can have significant and positive reputational impacts' (Stimpert et al., 1998, p.87).

From the above discussion, we can conclude that there is consistency in the historical accounts of The Salvation Army as presented in Chapter Four, and the modern day accounts of The Salvation Army as presented in Chapter Five. Of particular importance to The Salvation Army is the strong identifying mission to bring people to God, and care for humanity. This mission is based on the practice of puritanical values, developed in the late nineteenth century by William and Catherine Booth. These remain central to Salvationist doctrine today. The following Chapter will now examine the way in which these values have been communicated to the community through the print media.

CHAPTER SIX – PERCEPTIONS OF EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the perceptions of The Salvation Army as held by three external stakeholder groups, the media, volunteers, and corporate donors. This is important because, as argued in Chapter One, reputations are held in the perceptions of external stakeholders (Rindova, 1997). In analysing the perceptions of these stakeholder groups, different methods are used. The media are analysed through the articles written on The Salvation Army published in the Tasmanian newspaper *The Mercury* between 1993 and 2005. Volunteers are examined utilising a personal interview conducted with Mrs Volunteer A, the head of a Women's Auxiliary in Tasmania dedicated to raising money for The Salvation Army. Finally, five corporate donors were interviewed via telephone, with their responses to the structured interview questions recorded. Utilising the data from these stakeholder groups, the aim is to construct an understanding of the perceptions these constituencies have of The Salvation Army, and hence further the discussion of the reputation of the Salvos.

Public Relations and The Salvation Army

This chapter begins with an overview of Public Relations (PR) in The Salvation Army. An explanation for this approach is necessary. In considering the theory outlined in Chapter One, we see reputation as an evaluation of an organisation made by external stakeholders. It has been argued that organisations will seek to manage the meaning of these external stakeholders such that the organisation is viewed as being a legitimate actor, with a positive reputation. They will seek to do this through the exercise of unobtrusive power. Chapters Four and Five have contributed to this discussion by analysing these elements of unobtrusive power in The Salvation Army. The overall conclusion from this work is that the Salvos are an organisation driven to deliver people to God (evangelism) and relief of suffering (welfare). This mission is founded on puritanical values, and is supported by strong symbols, myths, language, and rituals.

PR is an obtrusive mechanism through which The Salvation Army will try to communicate these elements of unobtrusive power to its constituencies. The aim of this chapter is to provide an understanding of these constituencies and the perceptions they have constructed of The Salvation Army. These perceptions are likely to have at least partially been shaped by the way in which The Salvation Army manages the public relations side of its organisation. Hence, to construct an overview of the management of PR in The Salvation Army the following information has been extracted from an interview conducted with the Public Relations Officer for Tasmania, Officer Stuart Foster.

Officer Foster was interviewed in 2002. At the time he had been in the position of Tasmanian Public Relations Officer for eighteen months, a position he still holds. Employment in the role had followed on from a nine-month position with The Salvation Army's Employment Plus Program. He is a practising Salvationist. His views are representative of state level Salvation Army Public Relations for Australia as every effort is made to ensure consistency across all Salvation Army territories.

Officer Foster saw his primary role as being promotional, particularly in making sure that the name of The Salvation Army was out in the public arena in relation to social issues. He also played a part in the launch of special programs, and was responsible for overseeing donations and fundraising, particularly with regard to the Red Shield Appeal.

Given that PR is most often thought to be about the communication of key messages to external constituencies, it was interesting that Officer Foster identified Salvationists as the key group with whom he was required to liaise. These Salvationists covered the full spectrum of The Salvation Army organisation, from managers and employees, to divisional staff and Corps Officers (Personal Communication, 2002d). Most of this liaison occurred in relation to the Red Shield Appeal doorknock. The doorknock was the major component of Officer Foster's role, and he was also expected to coordinate with regional committees established in each area of the state of Tasmania to oversee the Appeal. These committees comprised business representatives, including ex-Tasmanian premier Ray Groom, as well as other influential people within the community.

The Public Relations program was a highly strategic function of the organisation and it worked on a three-month planning cycle, and emphasised major promotions such as the doorknock and the Christmas toy run. The toy run is an annual event organised by the Motorcycle Riders Association of Tasmania, in which they collect toys to give to The Salvation Army to distribute to disadvantaged children. The budget for the Public Relations program in 2002 was just over \$200,000, with the majority of expenditure being put toward the Red Shield Appeal. The money spent on PR is clearly a significant budgetary commitment from a non-profit organisation.

In considering the Tasmanian media and their relationship to The Salvation Army, Officer Foster claimed that he had found them to be 'very sympathetic to our cause' (Personal Communication, 2002d). In fact, he could not recall any time during his eighteen months on the job, where there had been a negative story written about The Salvation Army. He claimed that the media in Tasmania would actually contact him first to clarify any potentially bad stories. He had found that the Red Shield Appeal would gain good support from WIN television, and ABC radio. Southern Cross television, and ABC television would give coverage if they were able to find the time, or if the issues were interesting.

Overall, Officer Foster had found the public to be 'really supportive' as based on the levels of public donations (Personal Communication, 2002d). He had also found politicians to be 'generally supportive', but it was difficult for them to show this in government (Personal Communication, 2002d). For instance, politicians were difficult to lobby on issues to which the Salvos were opposed, such as gambling.

From this information, we can see an organisation which takes a proactive role in managing its public relations. Personal relationships are built with both members of the media and politicians as a means of keeping The Salvation Army's name to the forefront of social issues. The PR Role also had an internal focus however, with respect to strong liaison across all elements of Salvation Army business. In this sense, we can see that The Salvation Army strives for internal and external consistency in its messages. How the PR function affects perceptions of external stakeholders is not directly addressed in upcoming sections, however, it may be asserted that such is the active nature of PR management in The Salvation Army that it is likely to serve as the

basis of first impressions by many stakeholders. Hence, the interview material serves as a useful lens for probing the perceptions of The Salvation Army's constituencies – with the first of these for discussion being the media.

External Stakeholders in The Media

The following section of work is constructed from newspaper articles. The newspaper articles have been collected from *The Mercury*. This newspaper is based in Hobart, Tasmania and is a tabloid published by Rupert Murdoch's News Limited. News Limited is the publisher of many newspapers across the world, and as such, many of their stories are syndicated. This means that articles from *The Mercury* are likely to be broadly representative of the views of other News Limited publications, and hence, *The Mercury* articles serve as a useful indicator of wider views within the media industry. The stories constructed by articles from this newspaper have been collected for the twelve-year period between 1994 and 2005. The vast majority of the articles are based on the work of The Salvation Army in Tasmania, and more particularly the Hobart City area.

To contextualise this analysis, the Tasmanian economy has traditionally lagged economies of the other Australian states in terms of both growth and employment. With only a small population, and separated by a body of water from mainland Australia, Tasmania has struggled to attract the large manufacturing industries common to other areas of the country. This has created a heavy emphasis on primary industries such as forestry, fishing, and farming for the State's growth, but without the capacity to value-add, these industries do not provide the same potential for wealth creation that tertiary manufacturing industries do.

The result is a comparatively poor Tasmanian economy which has relied on government assistance to maintain levels of infrastructure and industry. Improved performance from the year 2000 has left the Tasmanian economy in a healthier condition, however economists question the sustainability of the performance (Eslake, 2005). It is against this backdrop that The Salvation Army conducts its work in Tasmania. Welfare assistance is a key driver in the lives of many Tasmanian people and families. For example, in 2004-05, there was a 14 per cent increase in the number

of Tasmanians seeking access to health services, aged care, community care, child care, child welfare, and other welfare services (Australian Council of Social Service, 2006). This represents an additional 29,000 people – a significant figure for a state with a population of only 400,000. This level of reliance on welfare support by many in the Tasmanian community means that a great majority of the stories told in *The Mercury* about The Salvation Army are positive as they represent a strong provider of welfare assistance in the state. A search of the catalogue of *The Mercury* shows there were 84 records matching “Salvation Army” between 1994 and 2005. Of these, only three were negative, meaning that 97.48 per cent of articles reflected The Salvation Army in a positive light. Trying to piece these positive stories into a single constructed narrative is hard when the contextual themes in each are vastly different and thus the stories are presented in a chronological sequence.

Turning first to 1994, we find the story, ‘Alcoholic Thanks Salvos He’s Sober’ (Rose, 1994, p.3). The story focuses on a self-confessed alcoholic by the name of Ivan Davis. Mr Davis began drinking at the age of 15 when he was in the Australian army, and his addiction reached such levels that by the age of 39 he was brewing great quantities of his own beer and wine so that he could afford to drink it. Having lost what was described as a once ‘successful career’, as well as his wife and three children, Mr Davis joined The Salvation Army’s Bridge Program. Conducted over a 13-week period, the Bridge Program aimed to foster physical, psychological, and spiritual well-being. Since his involvement in the program, Mr Davis had given up drinking. Meanwhile, activities such as the Bridge Program looked to be under threat in 1994 as The Salvation Army’s traditional fundraiser, the Red Shield Appeal looked to be falling well short of its financial target. With only one month of The Red Shield Appeal to go, the Salvos were \$90,000 short of the \$840,000 for which they were aiming. However, by close of the Appeal there was a shortfall of only \$13,000. The Salvos believed they could manage this situation without cutting services. The Salvation Army’s Public Relations Officer in Tasmania, Captain Barry Casey said ‘it is difficult to trim our programs but we will cope. We can’t say we will help less and we don’t want to cut services’. Captain Casey finished off by saying, ‘We are very thankful to the people of Tasmania, they have been marvellous’ (*The Mercury*, 1994, p.5).

In 1995, The Salvation Army teamed up with the Hobart City Mission and St Vincent de Paul to warn about vandalism, begging, and threatening behaviour in Hobart's streets. A group of homeless youths were blamed for a series of disturbances, and the welfare organisations warned that action must be taken. 'If it isn't stopped it will grow', Captain Barry Casey said, 'otherwise what Hobart is today – as a safe home for families – could be gone forever' (Standen, 1995, p.2). Perhaps this call led to the instigation of a summit on street kids in 1996 – a summit at which representation from The Salvation Army was expected (Rose, 1996, p.11). A negative article on The Salvation Army was written in *The Mercury* on 5 August 1995. It was reported that local resident Kim Clarke had launched a protest outside The Salvation Army's Family Store in Launceston. The protest was over the price of goods in the store. 'The needy and even working-class people can't afford to shop here', Mrs Clarke said. She claimed the needy would be better off shopping at discount stores, and was hoping to gather 2000 signatures to support her claim (Kearney, 1995, p.7).

Meanwhile, The Salvation Army received a novel form of assistance from racecar drivers in 1996. Four cars in Targa Tasmania carried Red Shield Appeal badges on their bonnets to encourage support for The Salvation Army. Targa Tasmania is a road rally held annually on roads right around the state. Comprising a series of road races, and more leisurely non-competitive stages, it provides a dual focus on car speed and design. This makes it an extremely popular event for car hobbyists and motor racing enthusiasts. A navigator for one of the cars displaying the Shield, Philip Blake, said of the fundraising effort, 'I hope the Team Red Shield can do a little to dispel that myth [of Targa drivers being rich and selfish] and that when people come to see the cars they will put something into our crash helmet money box for the Salvos' (*The Mercury*, 1996, p.11). Noting that The Salvation Army was not usually associated with fast cars, Captain Barry Casey was pleased with the attention, and declared that, 'as long as I don't have to drive them [fast cars], I'm fine' (*The Mercury*, 1996, p.11).

Later in 1996, the Salvos took up the fight against poker machines in pubs on behalf of low-income earners. Tasmania's Legislative Council did not consult welfare groups before enabling new legislation which put \$1 pokies in Tasmanian pubs and clubs, and this angered The Salvation Army. 'I believe they [the Legislative Council] have let us down' said Captain Barry Casey. 'Very often it is low-income people who try to

make ends meet by chance on these machines. This only makes them spend more money' (Kearney, 1996, p.9).

The year 1996 also saw the publication of some articles regarding The Salvation Army and Christmas. It was reported on 22 December that the Myer Tasmania Store Leader had heard the Salvos were in need of food to give to people at Christmas, so Myer had started a food collection for The Salvation Army. 'Everyone enjoys giving toys but people tend to forget about the essentials', Mr Peter Monachetti of Myer said. 'A child can't enjoy his teddy bear if his stomach is rumbling' (*The Mercury*, 1996, p.7).

Also on 22 December 1996, *The Mercury* contained an extensive story on Debbie (not her real name). Three years earlier in a state of ill health and with her children aged 3, 6, and 9, Debbie had left her husband. 'I had nowhere to go, very little money with me, one set of clothes for each of my three children... and Christmas was around the corner', said Debbie. Turning to The Salvation Army for help, Debbie was provided with a voucher to get clothes for her children. On Christmas Day the family was invited to a Christmas Party at The Salvation Army Citadel, where they received dinner and presents. 'The children reckoned it was the best present they'd ever had', said Debbie. After depending heavily on the Salvos for the next two years, Debbie had reached the stage of being able to work with The Salvation Army in its 1996 Christmas program. 'When they say 'Thank God for the Salvos', they're dead right', Debbie said. 'I was in a desperate situation, they were able to help me through that and I was able to get my health back and the children have grown beautifully'. Captain Barry Casey completed the story by pointing out that Debbie's situation was far from rare. 'We try to ensure every child has a gift or a Christmas pudding or something special. People are proud though and won't admit they need help'. Captain Casey also spoke of one person who refused to admit the full extent of their situation. 'Just last month we got some furniture and we took it around to a woman who we thought might need some. When we got there, she took it all, she didn't have any furniture in her house' (Bevilacqua, 1996, p.5).

The theme of hardship at Christmas continued on December 24, 1996 with Captain Casey admitting The Salvation Army had received 8000 requests for help in

December, more than double that for December 1995. What was of particular concern was the increasing numbers of young homeless people going to The Salvation Army for help. 'Whatever people may think about these people, that they should be home, the sad reality is that many of those we see have chosen to live this way because it is safer than being at home. We are talking about people as young as 14' (Diwell, 1996, p.7). These comments linked directly to a story in which it was revealed that The Salvation Army had joined forces with the City Missions of Tasmania, St Vincent de Paul, and Tasmaid to raise \$20,000 through the Homeless Kids Appeal (Stacey, 1997, p.9).

In 1997, Philip Blake was once again using his Targa car to help the Salvos, but this time it was being utilised as a bread delivery van. The bread came from the Sorell Bread Café, an institution in a suburb approximately fifteen minutes drive from central Hobart. Salvation Army spokesman Stuart Hamilton noted the importance of this donation by saying, 'we assist 600 families a month just through the Hobart Centre'. This donation came at the start of The Salvation Army's Red Shield Appeal Doorknock (Langdon, 1997, p.11). However, the 1997 Red Shield Appeal as a whole was disappointing for the Salvos with donations falling \$30,000 short of the 1996 figure. This was despite the fact that demand for services was up by about 40 per cent. 'We recognise that things are a lot harder for people everywhere but probably nowhere more so than in Tasmania with all our economic problems and high unemployment levels', said Salvation Army State Publicity Officer, Stuart Hamilton (Diwell, 1997, p.7).

In 1998, the Tasmanian State Government appointed The Salvation Army as landlord for 200 Housing Division tenants across the State. The Government took this step in the belief that Salvation Army tenancy management might lift occupancy rates in hard-to-rent public housing areas. The Government also anticipated that tenants with a record of vandalism might regard the Salvos with less hostility than the Housing Division. State Commander for the Salvation Army, Major Ian Hamilton said 'the most important thing we can do [for the tenants] is give the support required. There are many who need more than just a roof over their heads' (Lovibond, 1998, p.3). The following day, the editorial in *The Mercury* praised the decision to put The Salvation Army in charge of managing the tenancies. 'There is irresistible appeal and sound

logic behind making The Salvation Army the landlord in Tasmania for tenants of 200 Housing Division Homes'. The editorial continued, 'the Salvos seem perfectly suited to be a landlord for those who need understanding as well as a helping and guiding hand' (*The Mercury*, 1998, p.18).

On May 25, 1998, under a heading of 'Salvos thank God for help', it was revealed that more than \$125,000 had been collected by The Salvation Army in its doorknock appeal. This was financial support from Tasmanians which was gratefully received. 'Our welfare centre has assisted 14,000 families in the past 12 months... young and old, the unemployed, the alcohol and drug dependent, gamblers, families in crisis, people alone, [and] the homeless', Salvation Army spokesman Tony Foster said (Lamb, 1998, p.1).

Demand for a Salvation Army program designed to help the frail, elderly and homeless to find appropriate and secure accommodation was so strong in 1998 that there was pressure to extend the service beyond the City of Hobart. 'We are turning people away, which is a tragedy', claimed Jill D'Arcy, Manager of the Assistance with Care and Housing for the Aged Program. She called for extra funding to extend the service to the Hobart suburbs of Clarence and Glenorchy as well as the northern Tasmanian cities of Launceston and Burnie (Waterhouse, 1998, p.2).

In 1999 The Salvation Army was dealt a blow when a deliberately lit fire caused substantial damage to a warehouse of donated goods. Many clothes were damaged by smoke. Despite the \$50,000 damage, Salvation Army public relations secretary Tony Foster said the Family Store would remain open (Whinnett, 1999, p.6).

In March 1999, the Salvos announced they would be replacing the Elim Hostel for women with intellectual disabilities with modern cluster housing. This represented a Salvation Army commitment to the present and future care of residents. 'The residents will have the opportunity for greater independence and privacy... but with the safeguard of ongoing support and care' said the Salvation Army's Major Callander (Lovibond, 1999, p.6).

Under the headline 'Swan song for a Salvo tradition', it was announced that The Salvation Army choir in Hobart would do away with its straw bonnets and woollen hats. The move, which ended a tradition dating back to 1880, followed a trend of making the uniform more versatile, practical and relevant. Tony Foster said of the move, 'the most important thing for The Salvation Army is its mission and as long as members are instantly recognisable, it does not matter whether they wear a hat or not' (Grube, 1999, p.1).

A reputational crisis emerged for The Salvation Army in Tasmania on 16 July 1999. *The Mercury* reported on 'angry mothers' who had lashed out at The Salvation Army. The problems arose at a state government inquiry into allegations of forced adoption in Tasmania. Most criticism was centred on The Salvation Army's submission to the inquiry. Government lower house representative, Fran Bladel said of the submission, 'it did not really add up to much'. She then added that 'there must be some information available. Surely somewhere there are archives' (Stevenson, 1998, pp.1-2).

The women who had appeared before the inquiry were highly critical of The Salvation Army's lack of preparation, and also the decision by the organisation to be represented at the Inquiry by Major Peter Callendar, who had only been in Tasmania for 10 months. Chris Burke, who had been pressured by The Salvation Army to relinquish her daughter while in custody at the Salvo home Elim in 1968, was hurt by the response. 'He [Major Callendar] has been here [Tasmania] ten months, he came unprepared, he knew nothing. I think its disgusting'. Mary Harris, the President of Origins – a support group for people separated by adoption – said of the response from The Salvation Army, 'its not good enough' (Stevenson, 1999a, pp.1-2). Major Callendar responded to the accusations by saying that because of the significant passing of time since the incidents that 'it is not possible for us to respond in any authoritative way, or with any factual information' (Stevenson, 1999b, p.2).

By June 1999, The Salvation Army had become concerned at the small level of donations they had received for the Red Shield Appeal. Donations were \$11,000 down in comparison to the same time in 1998. Mr Tony Foster expressed concern at this decline. 'Sadly we are seeing more and more need each year for our services.

There are more and more people who are having to swallow their pride and ask for help especially those who have suddenly found themselves redundant, or without a job, or people with gambling problems. If there is less money to go around it is much harder for us to provide what is needed'. Mr Foster also thanked Tasmanians for their continuing generosity (Sims, 1999, p.10). By August, the downturn in donation levels as reported by the Salvos had been replicated across most of Tasmania's welfare agencies. The Salvation Army was reporting that the drop in donations had been accompanied by a rise in demand for services. The Salvation Army was being approached by 1000 families per month for support, compared with 650 in the previous year. 'We have had to turn people away from family support services', said Tony Foster (Barbeliuk, 1999a, p.3).

Meanwhile, the Salvos launched a new service for boys on the brink of 'dropping out' in September 1999. Known as the Home and School Support Program, it was aimed at preventing boys aged 10-14 from leaving home or dropping out of school. Program coordinator Karina Spruce said it was hoped the program would identify and nurture the strengths and interests of these boys. The program had received funding from State and Federal Governments (Barbeliuk, 1999b, p.12).

In 2000, the Salvos threatened to remove a collection bin from the Northwest coastal city of Burnie after it had been set alight twice in the space of one month. Burnie Police constable Ken Geeves said, 'Police are appalled at this type of mindless vandalism directed towards a charitable organisation' (*The Mercury*, 2000, p.11). Later in the year, it became apparent that Salvation Army assistance was necessary in the Burnie area. The Salvos' services in the northwest were reported to be dealing with 150 inquiries a month. This was blamed on the boat, *The Spirit of Tasmania*, which was bringing people to the Northwest coast from Melbourne. Some of these were homeless people (Rose, 2000, p.11), and hence required welfare assistance.

In late 2000, the Salvos gained a new Divisional Commander for Tasmania. Major John Vale, a keen golfer, had joined the Tasmania Golf Club and had become the club's chaplain. As the State's first golf club chaplain, Major Vale wanted to help golfers in any way he could. 'Its up to the club and members – they may have family difficulties or personal problems – I want them to know I'm available', Major Vale

said. Reflecting on the needs of the Tasmanian community as a whole, Major Vale was very worried about poker-machine addiction (Briggs, 2000, p.5).

In January 2000, the Derwent Valley Community, to the north of Hobart, lost Salvationist Captains Graham and Christine Isaac when they were transferred to new positions at the Hobart community support and outreach service. Captain Graham Isaac was optimistic about the future of the Derwent Valley however. 'We have been very impressed with New Norfolk and the great people. I see a lot of potential in tourism for the area with its lifestyle, its environment and scenery' said Captain Isaac. However, there was a growing need for the services provided in the area by the Salvos, such as provision of food vouchers, counselling, referral services for accommodation and crisis support (*The Mercury*, 2000, p.40).

Bevilacqua (2000, p.2) reported that 'Tasmania's halo as the most generous state is slipping'. As an example of this, he pointed to The Salvation Army's Red Shield Appeal Doorknock which raised \$236,000 in 1996, but had slipped to \$188,000 by 1999. The Salvation Army's Tony Foster did note however that total donations were slightly up through different forms of fundraising – claiming that 'Tasmanians are giving in different ways' (Bevilacqua, 2000, p.2). To assist The Salvation Army with its fundraising efforts in 2000, a call was made by both the Mayor of the Hobart City Council and the leader of the Government in the Legislative Council for Tasmanians to donate to the Salvos. The Mayor of the Hobart City Council, Alderman Rob Valentine said the Salvos were always there to help when they were needed. Meanwhile, the Leader of the Tasmanian upper house of Parliament, Michael Aird said the work of The Salvation Army was critical. 'To many families whose lives are shattered by their personal circumstances, The Salvation Army provides a lifeline without which they would have little hope' (*The Sunday Tasmanian*, 2000, p.7).

In early 2001, *The Mercury* presented an article on The Salvation Army's Bridge Program and Project Hahn (Pos, 2001). The article traced the experience of Phil – a recovering drug user and alcoholic who had suffered kidney failure. Phil undertook the Bridge Program for people with alcohol, drug, and gambling addictions. During the course of this program, Phil also joined Project Hahn – specifically designed to facilitate psychological, social, and emotional growth through outdoor challenges.

Coming through a life notable for two kidney transplants, the death of a younger brother in a car accident, and the death of a stepbrother from a heroin overdose had not been easy for Phil. However, with the help of The Salvation Army programs he had stopped drinking and found meaning in his life through church. He also planned to do a cooking course so he could become healthier and stronger.

The Salvation Army and the Bob Jane T-Mart automotive chain also launched a novel assistance scheme in 2001. Known as the 'All Rounders for All' program, the aim of the initiative was to donate a thousand sets of tyres to families in financial need. Tasmanian Salvation Army Public Relations Officer Stuart Foster said those with limited finances often had to put off buying tyres so money would be available for other things such as bills. The first set of donated tyres was provided to Evon Keehn, who had put off buying tyres so she could pay her phone bill (Thow, 2001, p.2).

At Christmas in 2001, the Motorcycle Riders Association of Tasmania conducted its annual toy run. Comprising 5000 bikes and 9000 riders, they collected presents for The Salvation Army to distribute to underprivileged children. Salvation Army spokesman Stuart Foster said, 'we have two 20-foot containers of gifts – that's a lot of joy for kids all over Tasmania this Christmas. The response has been fantastic' (Read, 2001, p.3). Meanwhile, during the 2001 Christmas appeal the Salvos were called on to help more families than ever. The efforts of volunteers significantly helped The Salvation Army's response. 'This [behind-the-scenes work] is what embodies the spirit of Christmas, along with the generosity of those who contribute to our appeal' said Stuart Foster. 'Its all about sharing with others with no expectation of recognition' (Briggs, 2001, p.7).

In 2002 The Salvation Army opened a new centre in conjunction with the Church of England welfare provider Anglicare on Hobart's eastern shore. The centre was opened by Clarence Mayor Cathy Edwards 'who described it as a wonderful new service for the eastern shore involving two organisations with vast experience, an excellent reputation and a long history of helping Tasmanians' (Waterhouse, 2002, p.11).

The Salvation Army was recognised by the Federal Government in 2002 for the success of 'Amazing Waste' – a Salvation Army Work for the Dole project. Presented

on behalf of Australian Prime Minister John Howard by Senator Eric Abetz, the Prime Minister's Work For the Dole Award 'recognised the contribution the Salvos continued to make to improve the employment prospects of young Tasmanians'. Amazing Waste beat 64 other finalists from around Australia (Ribbon, 2002a, p.15).

Also in 2002, Aboriginal artist Dusty Roads spoke to *The Mercury* about his successful path through the Salvation Army's Bridge Program. Having previously spent much of his adult life in prison, or abusing speed (amphetamines) on the streets of Hobart, he entered the Bridge Program in bad shape. However, he had now put these times behind him and was finding success in an artistic career which drew on his aboriginal heritage. He also had his own furnished house, a new partner, and had reconciled with his parents with whom he had not spoken for thirty years. Roads praised the Bridge Program for giving him food and clothes, and also the opportunity to pursue personal goals. 'The Salvation Army has given me another chance in life and has enabled me to get my career up and running'. Roads also praised the support given to Bridge Program participants. 'The course was individually tailored and I was given the freedom to make my own journey' (Bowes, 2002, p.21).

By 2002, the annual Motorcycle Riders Association Christmas Toy Run was in doubt. Crippling public liability insurance, combined with a split in the Motorcycle Riders Association had cast doubt over the event. However, Association President Chris Cook said the event would definitely go ahead. 'It generates \$2 million into the economy for that one day and it helps out The Salvation Army' Mr Cook said (Whinnett, 2002, p.9).

Ribbon (2002b, p.9) reported on the success of Jamie Bricknell in obtaining a job. Having joined Salvation Army Employment Plus one month earlier, Jamie had been encouraged to participate in a career development program. During this time The Salvation Army's Jobs Train - an interactive careers expo - visited Hobart. Mr Bricknell went to the Jobs Train to receive tips on how to find a job. However, he performed so well in a mock interview that he was offered employment from Tasma Car Sales on the spot.

In December 2002, The Salvation Army issued a desperate plea for clothing donations after a \$400,000 fire gutted its Hobart storage centre. 'We estimate we've lost about 36 tonnes of clothing' said Stuart Foster of The Salvation Army (Rose, 2002a, p.3). By the following day *The Mercury* was reporting on an 'unprecedented show of charity' in help for the Salvos from the Hobart community. In one day the Salvos collected 4.4 tonnes of clothing in Hobart alone. 'I'm amazed. We've had a fantastic response... the [collection] bins keep on filling up' said Stuart Foster. Many bins that were normally emptied once or twice a week were filled and emptied twice during the one day (Rose, 2002b, pp.1-2).

An elderly prisoner by the name of Nola Walker was released into the care of The Salvation Army in 2003 because of doubts about declining health. She had emphysema, osteoarthritis, severe peripheral vascular disease and partial blindness. She was 86 and had been jailed for defrauding the Commonwealth Government over a 25-year period. Salvation Army divisional commander Allan Daddow said Mrs Walker would receive whatever support services she required (Anderson, 2003a, p.7).

In line with the support offered to Mrs Walker, the State Government and the Salvos launched The Salvation Army's Prisoner Support Program in 2003. The program was designed to work with prisoners from 6-8 weeks before their release and a further eight weeks after their release. Justice and Industrial Relations Minister Judy Jackson said the service aimed to reduce the numbers of first offenders who were re-offending. Prison Action Reform Group spokeswoman Vicki Douglas was pleased with the initiative. 'This [service] has been a long time coming and we're absolutely delighted' she said (Anderson, 2003b, p.6).

The article 'Out For Keeps' (Lower, 2004, p.41) took an in-depth look at The Salvation Army's Prisoner Support Unit. By February 2004, the Unit had worked with eight released prisoners and was working with another 22 soon to be released. Major Begent of The Salvation Army said one of the biggest problems newly released prisoners faced was isolation and a lack of acceptance in the community. With a \$140,000 budget, the unit provided counselling, legal advice, material assistance, housing and employment referrals to try and address the problem.

In March 2004, The Salvation Army suffered a blow when its family store in the Hobart suburb of Bridgewater was the target of an arson attack. The damage to contents was \$50,000 with further structural damage to the building of \$70,000 (Barbeliuk, 2004, p.5). Five days later the future of the Bridgewater store was in further doubt when it was once again hit by fire. This time the building was destroyed. 'Its not just a big blow to us, its also a big blow to the community' said Stuart Foster of The Salvation Army (Young, 2004a, pp.1-2).

Community fundraising for the Salvos continued in 2004. An initiative by young harpist Christina Sonnemann was to run a benefit concert at Hobart's St David's Cathedral. Concertgoers gained entry via a blanket or jumper donation to The Salvtaion Army. 'I thought how great it would be to give people a chance to turn out and support the Salvos' said Ms Sonnemann. About 100 concert-goers arrived armed with donations (Bailey, 2004, p.6).

In 2004 The Salvation Army's annual Red Shield Appeal in Tasmania topped \$1 million. This was the second year in a row the Appeal had reached this mark. The Salvation Army's Stuart Foster said, 'the terrific result is a credit to all Tasmanians. We are especially appreciative of the dedicated commitment from volunteers and organisers of the annual doorknock' (Waterhouse, 2004, p.15).

The Mercury also reported on Jamie Robertson, a man who was told he would never work again after breaking his back ten years earlier. But with the help of The Salvation Army's Employment Plus he had now attained a forklift licence and found a job. Mr Robertson's advice to any unemployed people was 'don't give up – if you can get in with Employment Plus, go for it because they are 100 per cent good value' (Young, 2004b, p.5).

In March 2005, the Salvos opened a \$7.5 million aged care facility in the Hobart suburb of New Town. Designed for the financially disadvantaged, its aim was to house people who struggled to get access to aged care facilities (*The Mercury*, 2005, p.12).

The Mercury also reported the story of Gary Baillie, a man helped by The Salvation Army's XCELL Prison Support Service. Mr Baillie had looked after his wife for eight years until she lost her battle with asthma and emphysema. A few months later he and his two sons were charged with assault and received prison terms (18 months in Gary's case). His eldest son died in jail. Knowing that he wanted to care for his youngest son when he was released, Mr Baillie got in touch with the XCELL Prison Support Service. 'This has given me a chance to try and put my life back together, otherwise I felt I didn't care about being in jail... My whole world fell apart but because of The Salvation Army and this place, its given me a chance to get back to some sort of usefulness' (Paine, 2005, p.7).

Reviewing these stories we can see on-going support from *The Mercury* for The Salvation Army. Negative stories comprise only three of the eighty-four analysed, and strong emphasis has been placed on the initiatives provided for the Tasmanian community by The Salvation Army. Business leaders, state and federal politicians, and leaders of local municipalities have all been quoted in offering praise to The Salvation Army for their social efforts. Stories are also presented which interview those who have successfully been rehabilitated by The Salvation Army, and these people provide a strong endorsement of the efforts of the Salvos. Hence, the overall perception provided by the media is of an organisation which has made a very large contribution to the Tasmanian community over a period of many years.

External Stakeholders: The Volunteers

Turning now to volunteers, we can see a similarly positive story emerge. The following information is extracted from an interview with Mrs Volunteer A conducted in 2002. Mrs Volunteer A was a practising Catholic who had been involved with the Hobart Ladies' Auxiliary for The Salvation Army since she had retired six or seven years earlier. At the time of interview she was the head of this group, and as such she provided a useful representative of the volunteers of The Salvation Army. The Auxiliary had started approximately 35 years earlier after the tragedy of the Hobart bushfires of 1967. It was the only such Ladies' Auxiliary in Australia, and its aim was to fundraise and assist the Salvos. Hence, it can be considered fairly typical of many

community groups around Australia who raise money, and donate time and assistance to The Salvation Army.

Mrs Volunteer A provided an overview of some of the activities undertaken by the Auxiliary. The main fundraising activity for the year was a games day or a card day, in which lunch was provided. This was held in the Hobart suburb of Kingston. The ladies would bring along the food and cook all of the lunches. The group only provided limited alcohol at this event, in respect of The Salvation Army's beliefs (Personal Communication, 2002e). However, the prospect of litigation was a concern, and the Auxiliary was now required to present a letter from The Salvation Army to cover any legal problems. This caused Mrs Volunteer A to comment on the lunch, 'I hope we can keep doing it' (Personal Communication, 2002e).

The high regard in which Mrs Volunteer A held The Salvation Army came from the Salvos' involvement in World War I and II. Both her father in World War I, and her uncle in World War II had formed a very high opinion of The Salvation Army. Mrs Volunteer A claimed that the Salvos 'have a very good field track record, and they'll just go and they'll help people' (Personal Communication, 2002e). She reinforced this opinion by claiming that The Salvation Army people had been heavily involved in more modern incidents, particularly in providing relief to those hurt in the Granville train tragedy in Sydney in the 1970's.

Mrs Volunteer A claimed that her decision to become involved in assisting The Salvation Army was based on her own values as a Christian believer, and her perception of The Salvation Army as having a very strong Christian background. In providing this reason, Mrs Volunteer A cited Salvation Army commitments to no alcohol, no jewellery, and no make-up, as evidence of their strong Christian background. Mrs Volunteer A said, 'they just give it up themselves in every way, they're givers not receivers' (Personal Communication, 2002e). Later in the interview, Mrs Volunteer A also praised The Salvation Army for being 'non-judgmental' (Personal Communication, 2002e). She continued:

'They work and they work at something, and you talk to these people, and they're out helping in family homes.

There is a lot here in Hobart they do, especially in the drug, alcoholic, and relationship problems. They'll work, and they'll work, and they'll get to a certain level [with people], and they'll think they are getting somewhere and it just folds up, and they start again. And that is a quality to me that I admire tremendously (Personal Communication, 2002e).

In the eyes of Mrs Volunteer A, The Salvation Army had great relevance to the Tasmanian community. This was based on her opinion that the Salvos were so well known, had retained their good name, and didn't cover up their ideals or ways. The strong family base of The Salvation Army was a characteristic admired by Mrs Volunteer A, and she considered Salvationist families to be very supportive of each other. Her admiration also extended to the manner in which Salvationists conducted themselves:

'They spend a lot of long hours and you can associate smiling people with The Salvation Army, they are happy in the service, they do present that. They must have their better times, but they're willing to discuss anything with you and they go and do their job, and some of them have been in the Army for years and years doing all of this' (Personal Communication, 2002e).

Mrs Volunteer A felt that working with The Salvation Army was not about a sense of achievement, but rather the learning that could be gained from associating with them. She believed that poverty was the most important issue facing The Salvation Army – but not just financial poverty, also poverty in relationships and from issues such as drug addiction.

In conclusion then, we can see the Salvos as an organisation to which Mrs Volunteer A feels naturally attracted. Her perceptions are built on the views communicated to her by her father and her uncle after their experiences of The Salvation Army in World War I and II. Mrs Volunteer A's own opinions are that The Salvation Army

demonstrates many of the traditional Christian beliefs to which she herself feels a natural affiliation through her own involvement in the Catholic Church. She demonstrates both an understanding, and an appreciation of these beliefs, by keeping the provision of alcohol to a minimum at the Auxiliary's chief fundraising event for the Salvos. She also has an admiration for the ability of The Salvation Army to persist in their efforts to achieve a positive social outcome, and perhaps this is best summed up by her assertion that the Salvos are givers, and not receivers (Personal Communication, 2002e). In essence, her evaluation of The Salvation Army is so high that she claims she associates with Salvationists in order that she may learn from them.

Corporate Donors

The final stakeholder group to which attention is turned are those corporations who choose to donate to The Salvation Army. Five corporate donors were interviewed using a structured questionnaire. Interviews were conducted via telephone, with the data recorded. In this section, the responses are written up according to the order of the questions in the interview.

The first question sought to contextualise these organisations by asking the respondents to classify the reputation of their own company. The representative of Organisation A, an insurance business, described his company's reputation as 'A1, very credible' (Personal Communication, 2002f). Company B was in the wine industry, and he described their reputation as 'above board', and 'established' (Personal Communication, 2002g). Company C was also in insurance, with the interview respondent describing the company's reputation as 'good' (Personal Communication, 2002h). Company D was in the automotive industry. The interviewee was expansive on her company's reputation:

'We have an outstanding product with an excellent reputation. It's a broad, brash statement if you are looking at it that way. I think it's a brand that is extremely well known around the world, and there hasn't been any real

negative issues that have worked against us I suppose’
(Personal Communication, 2002i).

Finally, Company E was manager of a recently privatised infrastructure asset. As such, they had only had five years in which to build a reputation. Despite this, the respondent classified the reputation as ‘between fair and good’, but with it still being ‘in transition’ (Personal Communication, 2002j).

The next question asked these organisations how they communicated their reputation to primary stakeholders. The intention was to further establish an understanding of the organisation’s own reputational credentials. Company A responded that their communication occurred ‘through actions rather than words’, and that these actions were based on a core value of integrity (Personal Communication, 2002f). This was consistent with Company B, who claimed they communicated their reputation through the way they did business. Company C reported a similar outlook, and maintained that their reputation was built through the quality of their work. Company D talked of communications from their President as being important to their reputation, whilst Company E used its major report to stakeholders for communication purposes.

In turning to the philanthropy of the corporate donors, it was apparent they were not naturally oriented toward philanthropic activity. For instance, the interviewee of Company A was explicit in saying, ‘we really don’t see ourselves as a philanthropic organisation’ (Personal Communication, 2002f), and Company B did not actually donate through the company itself, but rather through a foundation it had set up. Company D took the process one step further by claiming that it no longer was involved with sponsorship, but instead wished to embark on partnership opportunities with community-based groups. They undertook such partnerships after applying criteria to examine how proposed corporate citizenship initiatives could support a group of key stakeholders. In terms of marketing at the company, funds would be provided to community groups, but this would be done as a brand and reputation building exercise.

The organisations noted that their assistance went to a wider group of organisations than just The Salvation Army. Company E made a point of listing some of these other

groups, and mentioned that its decision to donate was based on providing assistance to groups that could make a difference in the local area (Personal Communication, 2002j).

The next question then asked the corporate donors how they perceived the reputation of The Salvation Army. Four of the respondents were very positive. Company A described the reputation of the Salvos as 'extremely credible' (Personal Communication, 2002f), and the interviewee for Company C said it was of 'the very highest standing' (Personal Communication, 2002h). Company E described the Salvos as 'solid and responsible' (Personal Communication, 2002j). The response from Company D's representative was equally positive:

'They have a very strong reputation. I mean, there wouldn't be anybody within Australia I think that wouldn't know about The Salvation Army and the work they do, so I would suggest the reputation would be very positive' (Personal Communication, 2002i).

However, Company B's respondent was more critical in his assessment, and said, 'we have been dealing with The Salvation Army, or sponsoring The Salvation Army for the last five years. I have to say that when we began, certainly fantastic work, [but] when we've tried to assist more like build up a relationship its been very poor' (Personal Communication, 2002g).

The companies did not claim that their own reputations were broadly similar to that of The Salvation Army's. Indeed, Company E's respondent argued that he wished it was, but that overall he could see no similarities (Personal Communication, 2002j).

The responses were mixed when the interviewees answered the question as to whether providing assistance to The Salvation Army had helped to build the reputation of their own company. The respondents for Companies A and B both provided a flat 'no' in response to this question (Personal Communication, 2002f; Personal Communication, 2002g). Company C's representative admitted that there was an intended degree of image creation in his company's decision to provide assistance to the Salvos, and he

said, 'we hope that it will portray to our clients that we're not just in it for ourselves, and that we actually provide financial support to, I guess, charitable organisations' (Personal Communication, 2002h). The representative at Company D believed that the assistance to the Salvos had helped to build the company's reputation internally, but that it would have made little impression on external stakeholders because they didn't communicate their support of The Salvation Army externally. Finally, Company E's representative saw little reputational benefit for his organisation's involvement with The Salvation Army because they 'actually keep it a bit quiet' (Personal Communication, 2002j).

The questionnaire then asked the respondents if there were other ways in which their organisation's support for The Salvation Army provided assistance to their company. Company A said there was a small benefit. This organisation provided money to the Salvos, but also made stipulations as to how this could be used. They had determined that their money should be spent on catering vehicles for emergency situations, and that as recognition of their support, their logo should be placed at the top of the billboard on the truck (Personal Communication, 2002f). Companies B and C perceived no additional benefit to their organisations from supporting The Salvation Army. Company D saw additional benefit because the partnership they had developed provided volunteer opportunities for their employees (Personal Communication, 2002i), whilst Company E answered that the support 'makes us feel good' (Personal Communication, 2002j).

The question was then asked as to why these organisations provided assistance to The Salvation Army. The answers were varying. The interviewee for Company A responded:

'Because of their reputation, because we know that the money is being put to good use, and because of what they use the money for. There's synergy between that and what an insurance company does. The fact that these catering trailers or trucks go out to bush fires for example to feed the guys who are fighting the bush fires, in a small part has

sort of helped us. The donation is related if you like'
(Personal Communication, 2002f).

Company B's representative answered that their assistance was provided because his organisation was philanthropic, whilst Company C claimed it helped them to put something back into the community. Company D had provided their assistance to The Salvation Army because it was what their employees had chosen to do. Finally, Company E supported the Salvos, 'because they make a difference. Our perceptions is that they make a difference' (Personal Communication, 2002j).

The majority of the organisations could point to a long-term involvement with The Salvation Army. For Company A, it had been six years, and Company B it had been five years. Company C was an exception in that it was in its first year of assistance. Company D had a formal relationship which had been in place since 1999, but had an informal involvement which had been active 'for years' (Personal Communication, 2002i). Meanwhile, Company E had been providing assistance to The Salvation Army for three years, the full duration of its privatisation. In most cases this assistance had been communicated to employees.

The next question asked if the organisations provided assistance other than financial to the Salvos. Company A's interviewee acknowledged his company's assistance was financial, but that it was targeted in such a way as to know where the money was going. This was the company which contributed to emergency vehicles, and the representative claimed he would regularly sit down with the Salvos over a cup of coffee and have a look at a truck being built. 'They sort of tell me about it, and they're really proud of what they're doing, and it's really good to be able to help' he said (Personal Communication, 2002f). Company B claimed to provide assistance other than financial to the Salvos, but once again hinted at difficulties in the relationship:

'We work very closely with one another [on a project] called the Crisis Centre, and we've assisted them in crisis accommodation. We have a motel [in] which we've been able to give cheaper rates, and [we're] always willing to help more, and had several conversations with members of

The Salvation Army to no avail' (Personal Communication, 2002g).

At this point, a further question to the interviewee for Company B revealed that the organisation had received letters of apology from The Salvation Army over a certain matter, but there seemed to 'be a blockage in the chain of command' (Personal Communication, 2002g). Meanwhile, Companies C and E responded that the only assistance their organisations provided to the Salvos was financial. Company D claimed to have been involved in food and clothing collections for The Salvation Army, as well as providing financial assistance.

The interview then closed by asking the organisations to classify their level of interaction with The Salvation Army. Company A's representative said he met with representatives of The Salvation Army twice or three times a year, a level he considered 'quite adequate' (Personal Communication, 2002f). Meanwhile, Company B continued to outline difficulties it had found in dealing with the Salvos:

'Just like I said, we've attempted to [liaise]. We deal with one particular area called the Crisis Centre, in which we've had an excellent relationship. Beyond that I have to say it's no, but that's not because we don't want to, we just haven't been able to make any dialogue' (Personal Communication, 2002g).

Companies C and E primarily provided financial support, and so they had not sought to be active in dealing with the Salvos. In fact, Company E's representative was strong in emphasising that his organisation wanted to be a low maintenance donor, and claimed the 'more time that they [the Salvos] spend sucking up to us, the less time they spend out in the field doing their job' (Personal Communication, 2002j). However, Company D's representatives also expressed slight misgivings about her organisation's dealings with the Salvos, claiming 'sometimes I would like them to take more interest in helping me', but she also understood that the Salvos probably only had limited resources. Although she did finish off the interview by saying, 'in

terms of building relationships it would often be great if they had some ideas too' (Personal Communication, 2002i).

In conclusion, we can see that one of these companies in particular has had difficulties in dealing with The Salvation Army. Despite this, their initial perceptions of The Salvation were positive. The other four organisations all responded that they believed The Salvation Army had a very positive reputation, and their involvement with the Salvos did not appear to have diminished this impression. Company B's issues seem to have derived from a clash with the hierarchy of The Salvation Army, and despite this, it still seemed committed to its partnership with the Salvos in managing the Crisis Centre they had established. The assistance provided by the organisations was as likely to be performed for purposes of internal morale and development, as it was to assist in the building of reputations external to the organisation. Overall, the perceptions of The Salvation Army from the corporate donors was very positive.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to examine the perceptions of The Salvation Army as held by external stakeholders. In considering the discussion we can see that The Salvation Army seeks to use PR to actively build relationships and communicate a positive reputation to stakeholders. This is consistent with the constructed historical understanding of the Salvos as presented in Chapter Four, particularly with regard to the establishment of the Limelight Brigade in the early 1900's, and significant work undertaken to launch the Red Shield Appeal in the 1960's. The Salvos also actively manage PR on an internal level, thus encouraging consistency between its internal actions and external messages. Constructing this proactive style of public relations management provides us with a lens through which the perceptions of external stakeholders can be understood.

The overall discussion shows that the external stakeholder groups have demonstrated an overwhelmingly high level of support for The Salvation Army. This is apparent in high levels of donations, strong endorsement from political and business leaders and the media, as well as tributes from volunteers who assist in providing resources.

Dissent is rare, but should not be overlooked, with criticism particularly of the bureaucracy of The Salvation Army.

A point of interest is that analysis of the stakeholder groups failed to add to discussion of the evangelical mission of The Salvation Army in any meaningful way. Mrs Volunteer A spoke of the organisations' strong Christian beliefs, but this was in relation to their social efforts. Corporate donors did not identify with the evangelical work of the Salvos in any response, and nor was it an issue pursued by *The Mercury*. The religious themes are most apparent at a sub-level in that activities such as the Red Shield Appeal and Toy Run are held in close proximity to Easter and Christmas. This lack of overt evangelical discussion and perception is worthy of consideration as the thesis moves forward.

The argument has therefore now been made that The Salvation Army enjoys an outstanding reputation in the charity industry in Australia, as evident from the perceptions of its external stakeholders. This reputation has been established over many years by an organisation whose mission is to turn people to God and relieve human suffering. Whilst concern has been expressed on an internal level that too much emphasis is placed on The Salvation Army's social welfare initiatives, Salvationists also take great pride in providing assistance to the disadvantaged wherever possible. The result is an organisation which helps in any circumstance (as evidenced by Major Joyce Harmer in the case of Kathleen Folbigg), and which therefore accrues resources and benefits from a grateful community, which perceives the Salvos as 'givers, not receivers' (Personal Communication, 2002e). It is clearly a case of strong reputational management. The next chapter utilises a strategy of narrative deconstruction to build an understanding of how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders.

CHAPTER SEVEN – DECONSTRUCTING THE CONSTRUCTED NARRATIVE OF THE SALVATION ARMY

Introduction

In this chapter I construct an understanding of how reputation is managed by The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholder groups. This task is performed by using Chapters Four, Five, and Six as a narrative of The Salvation Army - based on an understanding of narrative as the imposition of 'counterfeit coherence and order on otherwise fragmented and multi-layered experiences' (Boje, 2001, p.2). In order to understand reputation management in The Salvation Army, this narrative is analysed through a strategy of deconstruction aimed at uncovering the unobtrusive power inherent to the text. The above approach is justifiable on both a theoretical and methodological level.

Turning first to the theoretical level, we can see that narratives encompass all of the artifacts of unobtrusive power. Hardy (1985) has identified organisational structure, organisational culture, symbols, language, myths, and rituals, ceremonies, and settings as the elements of unobtrusive power. The constructed narrative of The Salvation Army as presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six illustrates how narrative captures all of these elements. The narrative of The Salvation Army identifies the organisation as having a military hierarchy, with language being based on military and Christian traditions. Symbols such as the Red Shield, and the flag are prominent in the narrative, as are myths surrounding the efforts of Salvationists such as Will McKenzie in World War I. Narratives are also inherently powerful in that they manage the meaning to external stakeholders. This is demonstrated by Boje (1995), who demonstrates that Disney Corporation has been successful in conveying universal notions about the organisation to external stakeholders through the construction of their narrative.

On the methodological level, it is argued that Chapters Four, Five, and Six represent a narrative of The Salvation Army, in that what has been written is the story which the Salvos wished to have told. This position is defended by noting the manner in which the data was collected, and in particular, observing the control exerted by The

Salvation Army during the process. Considering the discussion outlined in these chapters, we can see that the historical construction of the Salvos as presented in Chapter Four was built entirely on secondary material written by Salvationist authors. The Salvationists interviewed in Chapter Five were selected by The Salvation Army, and their interview questions were approved prior to interview by the Army's Public Relations Officer for Tasmania. The personal interviews conducted of the volunteer and corporate donor stakeholder groups in Chapter Six were also selected by the Salvos, and their questions were once again subject to approval from The Salvation Army hierarchy prior to interview. Finally, it is reasonable to assume that many of the articles presented in *The Mercury* were the result of PR releases from The Salvation Army. In this way, we can see that the process of data collection has been heavily influenced, both directly and indirectly, by the Salvos.

An unavoidable consequence of academic writing is that this data has been supplemented by the imposition of a coherent plot (Boje, 2001). In her notion of 'carnival', Kristeva (1986) notes that just as the carnival participant becomes both actor and spectator, so too does the writer subjectively impose themes and plots on the writing. The result is a body of work which represents a narrative as much as a case study. As Boje (2001, p.8) asserts, 'the formal case study reconstructs and replaces stories of the flux of experience with a narrative plot, and a moral to be comprehended as a sequential whole'. The task now is to strip this narrative of its plot and moral, so that an understanding of the management of reputation in The Salvation Army can be constructed. To do this, a seven-phase strategy of deconstruction is employed as based on the work of Boje (2001).

Before outlining these phases, it is once again important to articulate that for philosophers operating under a strict interpretation of deconstruction (Derrida, 1999), the seven phases of deconstruction impose strictures that are considered undesirable. However, Boje (2001, p.22) has provided a list of narrative deconstruction guidelines, because he says 'deconstruction can result in change and solutions'. Mockler (2004, p.3) has utilised these guidelines because they 'provide a useful way 'in' to rigorous deconstruction analysis which is placed within Derrida's theoretical framework, but at the same time sufficiently practical for the analysis of specific texts and groups of

texts'. For these reasons, I will use Boje's (2001) guidelines in deconstructing the analysis of The Salvation Army as presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

The first phase of this stage of the research is to look for dualities in the narrative. Narratives are based on a dichotomy, in which one side of the dichotomy is privileged, and the other is marginalised, repressed, or excluded. Hence, in the first phase of deconstruction, analysis will seek to provide an understanding of what dichotomies are present in the text. In the second phase, it will be important to reinterpret this hierarchy, in particular deriving an understanding of the effect these dichotomies have on the text. Privileging one side of the dichotomy at the expense of the other side will have powerful effects, and hence we can begin to consider how the text might look different if the dominance in this hierarchy were reversed. In the third phase of deconstruction, the hierarchy is reversed such that the marginalised rebel voices are heard through the text instead. Boje (2001) asks that at this point the researcher consider two questions: firstly, whose voices are dominant within the text, and secondly, whose voices are not heard? This enables the researcher to further understand the power that the privileging of one side of the text creates through the narrative.

In the fourth phase of deconstruction, the researcher is asked to tell the other side of the story. This is where the repressed voices are heard, with a view to understanding how the text looks different when it is subverted to take into account the experience of 'the other'. The fifth stage of deconstruction encourages the researcher to articulate the plot or moral of the narrative. Plots are central to the power of narrative, and as such this is a key phase in deconstructing the narrative. At this stage, it is possible for the researcher to ask how the text might look different if what is assumed in the narrative is denied. In the sixth stage of deconstruction, the researcher recognises that there are exceptions in the narrative. These may take the form of marginalised or repressed voices, which uncharacteristically are emphasised to suit the narrative, or they may in some other way break the presented moral. At this phase, the researcher should ask, what are the exceptions to the rules implicit in the text? Finally, in phase seven, the researcher asks how the text leaves the reader to fill in the gaps. All narratives have gaps, where the text speaks on behalf of groups. This is effectively a

form of coercion, and hence a powerful component of the narrative. These phases of deconstruction now become sections for this chapter.

Phase One: What dichotomies are present in the text?

Narratives create binary opposites such as male / female and young / old (Boje, 2001). The nature of narrative is that one of these terms will be privileged, whilst the other will be marginalised, repressed, or even excluded. In doing this, a narrative sells a central vision, or propaganda. It is this propaganda which is central to the power of the narrative. The task here is to determine the key duality as it applies to the narrative of The Salvation Army as presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

In considering a potential central dichotomy in The Salvation Army narrative, it is useful to begin by considering what makes such a narrative different to those of any other organisation. In this instance, what has been apparent in interview material and information from secondary sources is that The Salvation Army is different to other organisations because of their beliefs. This makes sense when the organisation is theologically based. If it is their beliefs which make them different as an organisation, then it makes sense that the narratives of The Salvation Army are also different to those of other organisations because of these same beliefs. Thus, a starting point for uncovering a central dichotomy in the narrative is to consider the beliefs of The Salvation Army.

In considering this, it is useful to refer to the term used by Martin Luther which he labelled a 'calling'. By this term, Luther alerted Protestant Christians that living acceptably to God meant fulfilling obligations imposed by the individual through his position in the world (Weber, 1974). The mission of The Salvation Army articulates the calling for Salvationists as being 'to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in his name without discrimination' (Salvation Army, 1999). In considering the implications of this mission, we return to the argument presented in Chapter Three. That is, the mission of The Salvation Army philosophically grounds the organisation's welfare and evangelical tradition in the practice of virtue over vice. According to this philosophy, the creed for Christian believers is to live a virtuous life, characterised by wisdom, justice, courage, temperance, faith, hope, prudence,

understanding, science, art, and charity as virtues (O'Donnell, 1995). Of these, there is a special emphasis on charity as the most important of all virtues because it creates a friendship with God. Taking this logic one step further, why is it important that Christian philosophy from the time of St Thomas Aquinas, has implored believers to lead a virtuous life and spurn vice? The answer lies in the reward of salvation for the virtuous, and damnation for those entrapped by their own vice.

Utilising this philosophy to explain the central dichotomy in Salvation Army narratives is now possible. The answer is even hinted within the name 'Salvation Army'. From the moment in 1878 when William Booth crossed a room in London and replaced the words 'Volunteer Army' with 'Salvation Army', the duality was created. Its further use has only served to entrench the duality. Therefore, Salvation Army narratives are based on a dichotomy of salvation / damnation – salvation for those who believe in the Lord, and damnation for those who choose not to. However, there is a further dichotomy in the narrative, and that is the 'us' (Salvationists) and them (others) nature of discussion. The distinction is based on an understanding that Salvos have found the Lord and will be saved, whilst others have rejected the Lord and will go to hell. Chapter Four even outlined this belief, when noting official Salvation Army documentation which declared that Salvationists have an understanding that all humanity is 'totally depraved' in that every aspect of every person is affected by sin (Salvation Army, 2006). Salvationists however have a chance to escape this depravity through their relationship with God. Hence, the central dichotomy of the narrative is that there are saved believers (Salvationists), and damned non-believers (others).

It is in the name The Salvation Army in which the dichotomy is perhaps most apparent. Turning first to the notion of 'Salvation', we can say that the words 'save', 'salvation', and 'saviour' are related to being broad or spacious – salvation is literally enlargement. It is a generic term, explained by Grant and Rowley (1963, p.879) as expressing 'the idea of only gracious deliverance of God, but specially of the spiritual redemption from sin and its consequences predicted by the Old Testament prophets, and realised in the mission and work of the Saviour Jesus Christ'.

The most notable implication of ‘salvation’ is a connection with righteousness. Grant and Rowley (1963) quote Psalm 18 in declaring that only the righteous or penitent are entitled to look to God for his saving help – no others may claim him as the rock of their Salvation. Thus prosperity, particularly in the promise of a future perfected state (heaven), was connected with righteousness. The notion of Salvation then became perhaps the defining theme in the New Testament, and embodied in the life of Jesus Christ, also known as ‘the Saviour’. Salvation, in terms of a life everlasting, became possible due to Christ’s sacrifice on the cross. In order to achieve this eternal life and gain entry to the Kingdom of Heaven, the Bible preaches that the individual must repent sins and accept the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour.

Righteousness remains a key to gaining salvation. In biblical terms righteousness is the opposite of holiness. Holiness is the bestowal of the Divine to the human, whereas righteousness moves from the human to the Divine. Its source as a term comes from the court system, and was used to describe a plaintiff or defendant who was ‘in the right’. His good behaviour then became known as ‘righteousness’, and a judge who decided in favour of such a person was said to have handed down ‘righteous judgement’. In religious terms, this notion was applied to the Messianic King as the ‘ideal judge’. Hence, ‘he will not judge by appearance or hearsay; he will judge the poor fairly and defend the rights of the helpless. At his command, people will be punished, and evil persons will die. He will rule his people with justice and integrity’ (Good News Bible, Isaiah 11:3-5). The Bible generally defines righteousness as conformity to the Divine, however, this was expanded in the Book of Matthew when the Greek word ‘eleēmosynē’ (pity, almsgiving, charity) as an alternative to ‘dikaiosynē’ (righteousness). This brings the notion closer to the Hebrew term ‘š^cdākā’ which incorporates notions of benevolence (Grant & Rowley, 1963, p.853) – and perhaps provides some explanation for the charitable focus of The Salvation Army’s work. This also demonstrates further power in the narrative, in that Salvationists will be associated with righteousness as they seek salvation. Thus, Salvationists also become ‘righteous’ through the dichotomy.

The notion of ‘Army’ automatically creates an opposition or a force to either be overcome or defend against. In the case of The Salvation Army, what is the force to be overcome? The hint comes to us from the ‘salvation’ aspect of the title. In the

literal definition of salvation, meaning to ‘enlarge’ – the primary means by which The Salvation Army can enlarge its forces is to foster belief in others so as to enlarge the Kingdom of Heaven. Hence, their strategy is to mobilise an army to combat apathy and non-belief by practising evangelism. The ‘force’ to overcome is faithlessness, or to put it in biblical terms those who lack belief in the one true faith. Thus the saved believer / damned non-believer dichotomy is cemented even in the very name of The Salvation Army.

These notions come through time and again in the presented narrative. Sometimes the narrative is quite explicit in articulating the inherent dichotomy, particularly in referencing Salvationists as seeking a path to God for themselves and others. For instance, Dale (1952, p.2) recorded John Gore as having stood up at a meeting in South Australia in the 1870’s and declared ‘God has saved my soul. I, John Gore know that I am converted and the Devil can’t rob me of that’. However, the dichotomy was also apparent in the interview with Mr Salvationist A when he declared, ‘I’m not pretending to be a saint, but to me the joy that I get out of seeing someone else enter God’s Kingdom is just remarkable, and if I can play a small part in that, that’s the most rewarding aspect’ (Personal Communication, 2002a).

With reference to the damned non-believers, the dichotomy is generally more implicit in the narrative, but still equally as important. For instance, do we imagine that the dirt, rats, disease, and homelessness which Booth saw in East London (Linsell, 1997) would have been likely to occur had the people been leading good and godly lives? Inglis (1963) asserted that, at this time, many religious people ‘believed that many poor people were suffering for their own sins’. The narrative seems to implicitly suggest that Salvationists held similar views. For example, Bolton (1980) served to reinforce this notion, when she quoted Booth as declaring he must ‘stop and preach to these East End multitudes’. By characterising the people in these areas as ‘multitudes’, they are implicitly consigned to being nameless and faceless entities, condemned by their own sins.

Phase Two: Reinterpreting the Hierarchy

From the preceding discussion we can see the saved believer as privileged in narrative accounts of The Salvation Army. The effects of this power on the text are important, in that they provide an understanding of Salvationists as the 'real and the good', whilst others become the 'unreal and the bad' (Boje, 2001, p.24). In doing so, Salvationists become heroes and martyrs, whilst non-believers are portrayed as fallen people, whose character may be called into question. This is a significantly powerful theme. The narrative serves to privilege those on the path to salvation, and glorify characteristics it associates with those who will be saved. Thus, virtuous acts are held up in the narrative to be praiseworthy, whilst acts of vice are deplored. In the modern day context, where the practice of virtue is viewed with great suspicion by liberal societies, such privileging of virtuous acts is no small feat and demonstrates the power of the narrative.

Narratives of The Salvation Army have characterised men and women of the flag as 'heroes' and 'villains' from the very earliest days. The founders, William and Catherine Booth, those who helped during times of war such as Will McKenzie and Albert Moore, and modern Salvationists such as Joyce Harmer, have all been depicted as heroes. They are portrayed as men and women who have gone far above and beyond societal expectations to help their fellow human beings. In doing this, the narrative confers heroic characteristics upon them. Hence, we see William Booth depicted as a tall dark-haired man (Linsell, 1997) with ruthless energy and passionate evangelism (Bolton, 1980). Catherine Booth was both a gifted preacher and writer (Linsell, 1997) and although she was frail in body, she was strong in will (Bolton, 1980). McKenzie was praised for 'his bravery, his love and service for his mates, his undying spirit of optimism, his disregard for authority, even his Greek 'God-like' physical appearance' (Linsell, 1997, p.47). And despite being described as 'five feet nothing', Joyce Harmer would walk proudly with her head held high, parting the sea of media as she went through (Henderson, 2005, p.264).

The heroes in these narratives also assume a stoic martyrdom. Martyrdom, in the work of Grant and Rowley (1963) is equated to the notion of a 'witness'. The first martyrs were the Apostles, who appeared as witnesses to the life, death, and resurrection of

Jesus Christ. However, in Biblical terms, a witness was a 'hero of faith', and hence Jesus has been described as 'the faithful witness' (Good News Bible, 1979). Christ's elevation as a witness was based upon his sacrificial death. In the modern sense, the conditions under which the heroes seek witness are based on sacrifice. Hence, the narratives show Salvationists working in onerous conditions which offer little hope of thanks or reward in this life. In the above examples we have William Booth in the slums of East London, Will McKenzie on the battlefields, and Joyce Harmer engaging with the media through. Their work is portrayed as sacrifice, based on a path to salvation.

In comparison to the very positive characteristics assumed by the saved believers in the narrative, the damned non-believers are tarnished with very negative features. Most of the non-believers encountered in the Salvation Army narrative are those who have required assistance from the Salvos. This includes people such as criminals, alcoholics, drug addicts, the hungry and the unemployed, as well as people such as homeless children and single mothers for whom society has developed broadly negative stereotypes.

In each of these cases the indication in the narrative is that the person is 'fallen'. The original fallen people in biblical history were Adam and Eve, and hence the notion is used to denote humankind's separation from God (Grant & Rowley, 1963). Their decision in the Garden of Eden to eat the apple from the tree of knowledge is the first documented Christian example of humans choosing vice over virtue. The stigma of being a 'fallen' individual therefore has a long history. In the instance of The Salvation Army narrative, the text does not discriminate between fallen people based on social standing. Therefore, we have Mr Salvationist A's discussion of the alcoholic wife of an extremely wealthy Presbyterian, and we are also confronted by his horror at the old Aboriginal lady whom he claimed had the voice of the devil. It doesn't matter the background of these people, they are treated as equally separate from God in this narrative.

This notion of non-believers as fallen people weighs heavily on the narrative of The Salvation Army. At no stage of the narrative can non-believers be seen to benefit from their lack of spirituality. This comes through quite strongly in the articles from *The*

Mercury. For example, the alcoholism of Mr Davis meant he had lost his job and his marriage (Rose, 1994), the drug addiction of Phil was portrayed as being behind the loss of his kidney as well as the death of his brother from heroin (Pos, 2001), and Dusty Roads' drug addiction resulted in life on the streets, time behind bars, and separation from his parents (Bowes, 2002). The theme also continued in the personal interviews. As an example, consider the views of Mr Salvationist C, who appeared to link what he believed to be personal and physical stigma such as being Mongolian or being deaf, with the notion of being a single mother in the Elim House. He said, 'I mean there's some of these ladies up at Elim – now they're all sorts. You've got a Mongolian, you've got somebody that's nearly deaf and all this sort of thing' (Personal Communication, 2002b).

However, presenting a moral that being a non-believer leads to physical and personal poverty is perhaps not the greatest power inherent to the narrative. The real strength in the narrative is that in characterizing non-believers as fallen, we are loathe to trust them, or treat what they have to say as credible. Society holds unfavourable views of criminals, the addicted and the homeless, and single mothers. The Salvation Army narrative therefore portrays non-believers as fallen, and by doing so, the stories of these fallen non-believers lack credibility. Because the narrative has only provided a dichotomous choice, if we choose not to trust the damned non-believer because they are fallen, then we must choose to trust the saved believers as purveyors of the ultimate truth. Salvationists in the narrative are truthful and righteous because they have chosen to lead a virtuous life. Hence, the saved believer is the only person capable of providing credible information in the constructed narrative of The Salvation Army.

Phase Three: Rebel Voices

At this stage of the deconstruction, Boje (2001) suggests that the researcher looks at those who are not representing the dominant side of the story. In the following section, this task is performed by repeating the story of the Salvationist Will McKenzie in World War I. This story is then re-told, such that the saved believer (McKenzie) becomes a damned non-believer. The idea is that by subverting the hierarchy, we will be able to witness further power in The Salvation Army narrative.

When Martin (1990) undertook such a step in the case of a gender study on an organisation, she was able to demonstrate that the organisational text privileged the male over the female, such that there were certain tasks which only a man was capable of performing. In the case of The Salvation Army, is it possible to witness examples in which the text privileges Salvationists such that they too are the only people capable of undertaking certain actions? To perform such analysis, consider the following paragraph from Bolton (1980, p.213) as she discusses McKenzie's heroic efforts:

'Under shell-fire he brought out the wounded, prayed with the dying and buried the dead. He filled sand-bags with the identity discs and paybooks of the fallen so that a record could be kept and information sent to their relatives. After his arduous days, he wrote late into the night sending last messages to parents and wives back in Australia. And, as he wrote, every word wrenched the big, gentle man who had children of his own' (Bolton, 1980, p.213).

As a member of The Salvation Army, the dichotomy of the narrative constructs Will McKenzie as a 'saved believer'. Hence, the power of this duality is that every time the word 'he' or 'his' is presented in the text, we are provided with the notion of a saved believer and its connotations of righteousness, and truth. This understanding serves as the context for examining the latent power in this narrative. Suppose that instead of having a saved believer such as Will McKenzie helping the troops on the battlefield, the deeds were instead performed by a faithless person. What is the effect of subverting the privilege in the duality?

To explore this question it is necessary to rewrite the narrative – leaving the wording exactly the same, save for inserting the words 'damned non-believer' where the text currently alludes to a saved believer (ie. where the text says 'he' or 'his'). Thus, the text now reads as follows:

Under shell-fire the damned non-believer brought out the wounded, prayed with the dying and buried the dead. He

filled sand-bags with the identity discs and paybooks of the fallen so that a record could be kept and information sent to their relatives. After his arduous days, the damned non-believer wrote late into the night sending last messages to parents and wives back in Australia. And as he wrote, every word wrenched the big, gentle man who had children of his own.

At first glance there is nothing to suggest that a faithless man could not have undertaken McKenzie's duties. A non-believer can also be a big, gentle man, and can have children of his own for whom he cares deeply. However, when probing a little more deeply we begin to see that indeed it is not possible for the non-believer to have undertaken such tasks. The first clue to this is in the first sentence when it says that the damned non-believer prayed with the dying. Why would a non-believer pray with the dying, and more particularly, to whom or what would this person actually be praying? This is a task in which that person is highly unlikely to engage because it is philosophically at odds with the person's own faithlessness. Hence, it is an action only for Salvationists.

Further analysis of this re-interpreted hierarchy identifies another implausibility in the story. In particular, there is no imperative for the non-believer to bury the dead. Being faithless, the non-believer would consider that in death the soldier has reached the end of his journey. In believing that there is no soul, the non-believer would see little purpose to Christian elements of burial which facilitates the movement of the soul to the spiritual kingdom. If a non-believer was to bury the dead, it would likely be for hygiene reasons, and this task would most often be left to members of the first aid fraternity instead. Once again, this is an action which only the Salvationist would perform.

Another source of power in the narrative therefore is that in privileging the saved believer, the implication is that only a Salvationist such as Will McKenzie's could have undertaken such heroic deeds in World War I. Salvationists are capable of burying the dead to move the soul towards God. They are also capable of praying with soldiers, because they have a God to whom they can pray. Thus, by implicitly praising

the virtuous conduct of Salvation Army Officers, the narrative entrenches a privileged notion of the Salvationist as a saved believer. This in turn allows Salvationists to perform deeds that are impossible for others to follow.

Subverting the hierarchy in other instances of the narrative provides a similar outcome. Consider as a further example the words of Kathleen Folbigg, the imprisoned woman accused of killing her own children, as she describes when the Salvationist Joyce Harmer visited her in jail:

‘Joyce comes to see me as often as she can, and always greets me with a smile and listens and allows you [to] be heard. She has also spread her arms around me and created a warm, safe space that invites you to expel all that may be hurting or just to enjoy a hug. An age-old remedy if ever there was one. I know I shall always cherish meeting Joyce Harmer. An eternal effect on my life. Joyce is a gladiator of the world. She eagerly undertakes all that is demanded or asked of her. Spreading kindness and peace into hearts that are open and ready to receive. I was one of those recipients. Bless Joyce, for she would be one that is truly deserving of all praises’ (Henderson, 2005, p.250).

Once again, when the hierarchy is subverted, it seems impossible for a non-believer to have performed the role of the Salvationist. Substituting once again the notion of a damned non-believer whenever mention is made in the text of Joyce Harmer, we can restory the text as follows:

‘The damned non-believer comes to see me as often as she can, and always greets me with a smile and listens and allows you [to] be heard. The damned non-believer has also spread her arms around me and created a warm, safe space that invites you to expel all that may be hurting or just to enjoy a hug. An age-old remedy if ever there was one. I know I shall always cherish meeting the damned non-

believer. An eternal effect on my life. The damned non-believer is a gladiator of the world. She eagerly undertakes all that is demanded or asked of her. Spreading kindness and peace into hearts that are open and ready to receive. I was one of those recipients. Bless the damned non-believer, for she would be one that is truly deserving of all praises’.

By subverting the hierarchy such that the damned non-believer is privileged, this passage has become a pattern of complex contradiction, ultimately devoid of meaning. In particular, the opening sentences seem peculiar. Why would a damned non-believer visit a murderer in jail? And exactly why would she give her a hug? But it is later in the text that the change in privilege renders the story implausible. By utilising the word ‘eternal’ to describe the effect of the damned non-believer on her life, Kathleen Folbigg automatically renders the task beyond the means of a faithless person. This is because there is no eternity in the mind of a damned non-believer, only a beginning and ending of life.

The story continues by describing the faithless lady as a gladiator of the world. But exactly what is she combating? It seems unlikely that non-believers have an enemy or a force against which they feel compelled to act. Folbigg continues by claiming that the damned non-believer spreads kindness and peace into hearts that are open and ready to receive. Once again, this is a spiritual notion, and one neutralised by the fact that there is no faith in a faithless person for the heart to be open and ready to receive. Finally, Kathleen Folbigg blesses the damned non-believer and declares her worthy of all praises. Once again this makes no sense because blessings are meaningless to the faithless person. This is in contrast to saved believers for whom sacraments within their church serve as blessings of the Divine (Public Questions Board, 1992). Hence, power in the narrative is reflected in that it privileges the saved believer, such that there are certain social welfare tasks that can only be carried out by Salvationists. This is a key message for the organisation as it seeks to build a reputation as a leader in the charity industry.

Phase Four: The Other Side of the Story

We have now started to construct an understanding of the power in The Salvation Army narrative. However, as discussed earlier, a key feature of narrative is that it marginalises and represses voices. Hence, a particularly effective way of deconstructing a narrative is to hear the repressed voices. In this instance, the aim is to hear those people for whom The Salvation Army are not virtuous and truthful providers of social welfare. To undertake this task, the following has been constructed from interviews conducted by journalists for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC's) *Four Corners* program. On 18 August 2003, the program screened a documentary called '*The Homies*'. It investigated allegations of systematic abuse in Salvation Army institutional homes in the 1950's, 60's and 70's against otherwise homeless children. These are the voices which are excluded from the constructed narrative of The Salvation Army.

In '*The Homies*' nine victims of Salvation Army abuse were identified and interviewed. These were just some of the tens of thousands of boys and girls from broken homes around Australia who were dispatched to institutional homes in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's. Two of the men interviewed for the documentary did not wish to be identified, and so are identified simply as 'Man in Shadow' and 'Second Man in Shadow'. The stories have been reconstructed individually under the respondent's name. All quotes are from '*The Homies*' (ABC, 2003).

Trish Pascoe

Trish Pascoe described her time in institutions as the 'bitter, lonely years'. She said this was because they were bitter and lonely, and that these were the only words she could use to describe them. Having arrived at a correctional facility for girls in care in Queensland in 1959, Trish's childhood was traumatic as she had three young sisters who had died at a very young age. Both her parents were alcoholics, and her father had been abusing her 'for years'.

Trish described her time before she entered the facility:

‘From the time I was about 11, the abuse got really bad for a year – worse than it had ever been when I was a little younger, and I used to go out Friday and Saturday night when he [father] was drunk and sit around in parks and down by the river and stuff like that, waiting for him to go to sleep. And the police picked me up one night and said what am I doing sitting there? Of course, I wouldn’t tell ‘em. Then, the next day they said, ‘You’re going to court’, and I said, ‘What have I done?’ and they said, ‘You know what you’ve done’. And I thought they meant.... what I’d done’.

Thus, Trish thought she was in trouble for being abused by her father. She was then put into a Salvation Army institutional home and immediately placed into solitary confinement for a period she guessed to be about two weeks. She believed this was a pre-disciplinary act, and said, ‘When I asked her [institutional supervisor] why she was locking me up, she said so I’d know what it was like and I wouldn’t play up or do anything wrong’.

Beverley Fitzgerald, President of the Queensland Children Services Tribunal described Trish’s solitary confinement as like an orientation session. Mrs Fitzgerald claims the message was ‘this is how we do business here. You are powerless, we are in authority, you will now knuckle down and stop this wickedness and become a good child’.

When Trish Pascoe was released from solitary confinement she was made to work long and arduous hours in the institution’s laundry. This would be for at least eight and a half hours per day. It was unpaid work and left no time for her to gain an education.

Man in Shadow

The Man in Shadow was a convicted child abuser. In 1994, he had been arrested for sexually assaulting several young adolescents. He was jailed for four and a half years

and underwent a sexual offenders therapy program. He claimed to be unable to be anywhere around 13-14 year olds. He said, 'to be truthful, I cannot look at a 13 or 14 year old and not think 'I wouldn't mind that''. The Man in Shadow claimed that his behaviour was a result of abuse he had received during his time in institutional care. He claimed to have been abused by other boys, and also an Officer of The Salvation Army from the time he was nine years old. 'I remember I started enjoying some of the stuff that was happening to me when I was 13. So my mind locked in on 13 year olds and I couldn't get out of that... that thought.'

Recounting his time in Salvation Army institutional care, the Man in Shadow revealed that all children in his home were numbered, as if they were in a prison camp. All clothes and possessions were then labelled with that number, and he was given number 68. He was in such care since the age of five, when his mother left him with the Salvos. However, it was his relationship with Salvation Army Captain Peter Patrick* which had left the most long-lasting impression on the man. He recalled a run-in he once had with the Captain:

'I had a reputation of having a very fiery tongue, and Patrick didn't like people being called names, so he asked one of the other boys who the main name-caller was, and he told him it was me. And at that stage I hadn't done anything wrong, but I was called up to the office and I was thrashed from head to toe with a cane, only because this boy had said I was the main name-caller'.

After this episode, the Man in Shadow alleged that worse incidents occurred. In particular he claimed that efforts were made by Captain Patrick to sexually assault him. As a result of this abuse, the Man in Shadow had made an attempt in the recent past to level a civil suit against Captain Patrick. He was also called to be a witness for an unnamed man who had brought a charge of sexual assault against Captain Patrick. The unnamed man's case was described on '*The Homies*' by his psychologist Mark Blows:

‘When the children were sent to a Salvation Army home, we used to say, ‘Thank God for the Salvos’, because we thought they were going to be treated better than in the state homes. I was wrong. This story really shocked me. Very soon after he [the client] went to that place at a young and tender age, under the age of eight, he was actually put across a desk... He described the desk to me, the grains of the desk. And an attempt was made to penetrate him – to rape him. Before that, he’d received a caning, and then he was succoured and... if comforted... then placed across the desk. And that sort of thing happened a number of times, and it always happened in that very sadistic context’.

Captain Patrick was arrested twenty years later and charged with a number of sexual offences. However, while the trial continued, The Salvation Army’s lawyers had negotiated a secret settlement with the unnamed man at the centre of the case. Patrick was acquitted by the jury after this payment was made and he therefore walked free. The Man in Shadow was one of the witnesses at the case and claimed to still be disappointed by the verdict. As a result of this decision, he agreed to settle his own case outside of court. The Salvation Army paid the Man in Shadow \$85,000.

Lewis Blayse

Lewis Blayse was placed into institutional care when he was only five months old. His mother suffered from schizophrenia and his father was a refugee from Yugoslavia in World War II. The inhabitants of his village had been shot dead during the course of the conflict. As his parents were unable to cope, they placed him into care. At The Salvation Army home at Indooroopilly, Queensland he was referred to as number 32.

Chores and discipline were two of the main themes Lewis Blayse remembered about his time in Salvation Army institutional care. He remembered a military-style life with no personal space or possessions. But it was the manner in which Salvation Army Officers carried out discipline which was etched into his memory, especially the fact that he had received the cane several times for speaking during meals.

The level of punishment at the Home was so severe, that at one stage he had helped to organise an escape attempt. The boys who escaped (he wasn't one of them) were caught and brutally punished. Lewis Blayse says 'boys had been escaping... and when they brought them back, you know, they were sort of stripped naked, beaten with a bloody rubber hose over a vaulting horse, and we all had to stand around and watch'.

Lewis Blayse still claimed to be suffering from his time in the institution. He had post-traumatic stress disorder and lived alone in a ramshackle house in the country. His marriage had broken down, but his former wife Sylvia remained his greatest supporter. She believed the anger Lewis carried from his childhood at Indooroopilly was disruptive to their family. This anger was borne out in fits where Lewis would scream, throw glasses, and break furniture. Sylvia admitted that Lewis has tried to commit suicide several times.

Lewis' responses to some questions showed him to have a fragile mental state. In particular, he recognised the effect that the impact his time in institutions had on him personally, and his family. 'If anybody is to be compensated, I'd say it was my family, because they, you know... You compensate a breadwinner if he's killed at work or something. If they're psychologically killed... the family should still be compensated'.

Wally McLeod

Wally McLeod also discussed the 'militaristic' feel of the institution. On a daily basis he was marched into school by a Salvation Army Officer – he and his classmates in three rows. However, like Lewis Blayse it was the corporal punishment side of life in institutions which had left the most severe mark on him. He described how beatings were handed out:

'All boys would be marched into the recreation room. The boy or boys that were in trouble would be called out into the centre. They would be made drop their trousers and underpants, bent over with hands touching the toes and they

would be given anything up to 10 or 15 of the cane or the strap. And if you left that position, you got extra’.

Wally McLeod still suffered from recollection of these events today. ‘I still have dreams of seeing blood coming from boys’ backsides, as we were... we were strap... we were hit from the... we were naked from the waist down when we were punished’. His feelings toward the officers who carried out these deeds remained strong. ‘Absolute mongrels. I... I can’t think of other words for ‘em, and these people call themselves Christians’.

Lewis Blayse, Wally McLeod, and Barry Maslen (next story) all took their complaints to The Salvation Army. Lewis Blayse had not yet received compensation. Wally McLeod was initially offered \$5,000 but rejected it and was finally offered \$20,000. He was upset at being offered what he perceived as small recompense for the trauma he claimed had been inflicted upon him. ‘It was humiliation to the... humiliation to the very best. I was devastated’.

Barry Maslen

Barry Maslen had been dispatched with Wally McLeod to a Salvation Army training farm called Riverview. At one stage Barry Maslen ran away from the home with another boy. Picked up by the Police they were taken back to the home. There, they were caned 6 times on each hand and 18 times on their bare behinds. He also remembered boys being flogged with a stockwhip if they spoke in the dairy. However, he was also the victim of sexual abuse whilst at Riverview.

‘While this particular officer was on night duty, he used to come into the dormitory and... he used to pick different boys, but when he chose me, he’d sit beside the bed and he’d rub my leg, eventually working it up, his hand up underneath my pyjama trousers, and fondle my penis. And then he would ask me if I would like a cup of hot Milo or some biscuits or lollies – which is something that was never, ever given to us, and, of course I said yes. And then

once we got to his room, he started fondling me again I was sodomised and I had oral sex performed on me. And that's how I acquired the name of one of that particular officer's bum boys'.

Barry Maslen claimed the officer abused four other boys when on dormitory duty. The boys talked about ganging up on the officer for retribution, but decided this would only ensure they received a flogging. The final time Barry Maslen was sexually abused was at Christmas.

'One particular Christmas, my wife said, 'Why do you make Christmas so hard for us?' And I wouldn't tell her, and she said 'well either you tell me or we're out of here'. So I just wept and wept and wept and I told her 'cause I'd had it bottled up inside me for nearly 40, 45 years – 40-odd years'.

Barry Maslen had since lodged a complaint with The Salvation Army. The response from the Army's Divisional Commander was to offer him a sincere apology and to tell him that the blood of Jesus would cleanse him of his sense of dirtiness and filthiness. In the end, Sydney headquarters offered him ten sessions of counselling.

Veronica Girle

Veronica Girle endured a sustained period of solitary confinement because she wouldn't own up to stealing two saltshakers which were found in her locker. In the end, she claimed that she spent nearly five and a half months in confinement:

'It was a pitch-dark room the size of an average bedroom with a mattress on the floor, no potty, no water, dark – very dark. They'd bring a tray in three times a day, and those three times a day you were marched out to the toilet, which was just around the corner. One minute to have a... to go to the toilet, four minutes for like your shower. Of course,

coming out of a dark room only three times a day after five and a half months, you know, you go pretty crazy, which I did do’.

Veronica Girle did lodge a complaint about her treatment years later. Although The Salvation Army did not accept the account of her solitary confinement, they did offer an ex gratia payment of \$10,000 with secrecy clauses attached. Veronica admitted, ‘I did accept compensation – ‘hush money’ as I will call it - to be quiet’.

Kevin Marshall

Kevin Marshall entered The Salvation Army’s Bexley Boys’ Home when he was six. His mother couldn’t look after him, and a few months later she committed suicide. However, all the details of her death, including where she was to be buried and what arrangements were made were kept secret from Kevin Marshall by The Salvation Army. He was told to stop crying and get over it. Eventually, in the mid 80’s he discovered her cremated remains and discovered she had killed herself.

Thinking back on his time at Bexley, Kevin Marshall could think of a few incidents which he considered to be ‘extremely bizarre’. The first was in the showers. Boys would line up in front of their lockers, and on command they would strip until they were completely naked. Then, under the gaze of one or two Salvos they would stand in line and go through a shower with seven other boys. Kevin also remembered being hit by Salvation Army Officers, saying, ‘I remember being hit about the head, bashed on the arms and face as well when I was six’.

Kevin Marshall also alleged sexual abuse against him by older boys in the home. He said, ‘[They] um... tried to sodomised me. Tried to make me perform oral sex on them, fondle my genitals, have me fondle their genitals. There were also places where, if you were out of the home – a camp or somewhere – people there would try to do things’.

Kevin Marshall was also one of the witnesses at the trial of Captain Patrick for sex offences. During the course of the trial it was suggested to the witnesses that they

were colluding or lying when they were telling their stories. When asked how it felt to be told he was lying, Kevin Marshall says, 'oh... rather comical, really. You know, it's par for the course. It's what you were told as a kid – 'You must be lying. This doesn't happen. These are all good people'.

Later in the documentary, the reporter took Kevin Marshall back to the Bexley institution. When asked how he felt to be returning to Bexley, Kevin Marshall said, 'very strong emotions, very stressful. As a matter of fact, I've jumped out of aeroplanes at night time, and that's less stressful than coming back here today'.

Kevin and his wife recently experienced the tragedy of losing their little boy. His immediate response was that because he was at a low point in his life, people would be likely to laugh at him or hurt him over his loss. He said now that thinking about it in this way was ridiculous, but explained his response. 'At the time, the emotions going through my body, I reverted back to being younger. And I think, surely, you being told, you know, 'Look, shut up. Your mother's dead. So what?' has something to do with that'.

Second Man in Shadow

Police found the Second Man in Shadow on the streets of Sydney at age ten. He was with his older sister and nine year-old brother after their mother had abandoned them. The boys were both separated from their sister and taken to Bexley. The Second Man in Shadow said that an older boy on their first night in the institution raped his little brother. On the second night, the man claimed he was bashed by one of The Salvation Army Officers:

'I was in the dining room and I laughed, and he [officer] told me to stop laughing and I couldn't. And then, um, eventually he came up and just punched me right in the side of the head. I fell to the ground. Then he dragged me, kicked me and punched me all the way to his office, caned me about 18, 20 times, threw me out in the corridor and told me to go'.

Looking back on his time in institutions with The Salvation Army, the Second Man in Shadow believed he was still suffering. He said, 'it affects me sleeping, affects my work. I always take jobs where I'm on my own, not with other people. I've lost a lot of jobs because of my aggression, because of all this. And you have nightmares from it, but you live with it every day'.

Kerry Gormley

Kerry Gormley was in care in a cottage in a Salvation Army home in Western Australia in 1966. One of the cottage parents was Alan Smith, a man Kerry Gormley remembered vividly.

'He came up early in the morning to wake me up and he said, 'well, look, you don't have to get up just yet. You can get up later'. And he sat on the bed and he was patting my head, and, um, his erection was actually showing out of his pyjamas, and he was trying to get my hand to... touch him, and, at that time, I... I didn't want that. I fought back. Um, you know, there was times when he used to come back in the evenings and... literally sodomised me'.

Kerry Gormley had received financial compensation from the Salvos for her abuse. She was asked as a part of this to sign a confidentiality agreement. She believed this was to 'stop us [the victims] from talking'.

Commentary from 'The Experts'

During the course of the documentary, there were several 'experts' on child abuse and children's services who were interviewed. The following is a short overview of what they said during the course of this documentary.

Leneen Forde, the Commissioner of the Forde Inquiry, was considered one of Australia's foremost experts on the abuse of children in state institutions. She

admitted to having been terribly affected by the stories she heard during the course of the inquiry. She noted that victims of abuse have trouble pursuing court action against their persecutors. 'They're [victims] not really first-class witnesses in most cases and, er... and the juries have a doubt as to whether they should really convict the person, and that's very unfortunate'. She claimed however that it was not just The Salvation Army which had a moral obligation in these sort of cases:

'Not just The Salvation Army – other church groups too, you know they... they have to realise that there's a... it's a moral issue for them. I mean what would Christ have done?'

Mark Blows, the psychologist of the man who made the allegations of sexual abuse against Captain Lawrence Wilson in court was asked if he believed the man's story. 'Yes, yes I believed him. We spent three years together checking and rechecking and going through this, and unravelling the effects of these experiences'.

Dr Wayne Chamley of the Broken Rights Action Group, witnessed the problems many of these childhood victims of sexual abuse suffer. 'They cannot hold down jobs, they have major problems with alcohol, they are major users of public housing. Many are on the streets. They trust no one. They're the classic loners that we see in society'. Dr Chamley also notes that many of these children were used for 30-40 hours of unpaid labour per week in the homes.

Listening to the other side of the story enables us to further construct an understanding of the power in the Salvation Army narrative. It has been argued that this narrative, as presented in Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven portrays the Salvos as saved believers. As demonstrated in phase three of the deconstruction analysis, the power in the narrative is that only Salvationists are enabled to undertake social welfare activities. This means the narrative portrays Salvationists as kind, caring, and compassionate heroes of the modern age – capable of virtuous deeds beyond the scope of non-believers. In the same instance, the narrative serves to characterise the damned non-believers as fallen people with low credibility, and whose personal circumstances are indicative of their own lack of spirituality.

However, the stories as presented from ‘*The Homies*’ documentary demonstrate that the privileging in the narrative is false. The voices of those who have been silenced or repressed in the narrative process undermine the image which has been constructed of Salvationists as heroes. Indeed, what these other voices serve to do is to show that saved believers are capable of cruel and violent acts towards defenceless children. The saved believers are also capable of dishonesty and sneakiness, as demonstrated by the paltry payouts received by victims, complete with silence clauses designed to ensure that victims do not speak out against The Salvation Army.

However, just as the other voices serve to falsify the notion of saved believers as the ones capable of being kind and caring virtuous heroes, so too are the other voices significant in that they falsify the characterisation in the narrative of non-believers as fallen people with low credibility. The accounts of the people interviewed in ‘*The Homies*’ have been shown to be credible and truthful accounts of abuse. A combination of the Australian legal system, trained psychologists, and a State Royal Commission have investigated their claims, and on the evidence collected by these neutral parties the fallen people have been vindicated in their allegations.

In demonstrating the flaws in the apparently seamless Salvation Army narrative of good, we can see the unobtrusive power of the dominant narrative. It frames an understanding for stakeholders in which Salvationists are elevated to hero status, whilst at the same time relegating others to the status of fallen, untruthful individuals. This is despite significant evidence that such stereotypes are false. The power in the narrative is that when criticism of The Salvation Army arises from groups of people such as those in ‘*The Homies*’, the frame exists to label such accusations as lies because they come from fallen individuals with low credibility. This is further explored in the next phase of deconstruction.

Phase Five: Deny the Plot

Using what has been written during phases one, two, three, and four of narrative deconstruction, how can we encapsulate the plot or moral of the constructed Salvation Army narrative? An understanding has been presented which claims the narrative privileges saved believers at the expense of damned non-believers. At the same time,

these saved believers are endowed with heroic characteristics, strong enough to make sacrifices in building their relationship with God, and compassionate enough to relieve suffering of humans who don't believe. Those to whom assistance is offered by The Salvation Army are characterised as fallen individuals, and this association renders their accounts invalid. Furthermore, the narrative makes it all but impossible for damned non-believers to undertake social work with a level of care and compassion comparable to that of The Salvation Army. Under these circumstances the moral of the narrative is that only Salvationists are capable of doing good and being truthful.

If we deny this plot then we can see why careful management of reputation by The Salvation Army is integral to its competitive advantage. Consider what happens if the damned non-believers are capable of doing good and being truthful, and the saved believers are capable of evil deeds, neglect, and lying. What this does is to undermine the legitimacy of The Salvation Army. It erodes legitimacy because there are suddenly many other people or organisations capable of providing welfare relief to individuals. In the competitive situation that exists in the Australian welfare industry, The Salvation Army may then not be the provider of choice because it is capable of evil deeds and neglect in its provision of social welfare. Hence The Salvation Army loses its competitive advantage in the charity industry. Furthermore, by denying the plot, the legitimacy of the Salvos is undermined because the damned non-believers gain an air of authority in expressing negative sentiments during reputational crises such as those represented in *'The Homies'*.

Take as an example the statement made by Wally McLeod in which he expressed his views of the Salvos as, 'absolute mongrels. I... I can't think of other words for 'em, and these people call themselves Christians'. It is an extreme statement, but one which seems perverse if the plot remains in place which characterises Wally McLeod as a damned non-believer. Indeed, the sentiment is accurately summed up by child abuse expert Leneen Forde when she says, 'they're [victims] not really first-class witnesses in most cases and, er... and the juries have a doubt as to whether they should really convict the person, and that's very unfortunate'. If however, the plot is to be denied and Wally McLeod is now characterised as a credible witness, then we can start to perceive the saved believers in The Salvation Army as capable of evil deeds, neglect,

and lying. This causes the threads of the narrative to unravel, and it loses its unobtrusive power in managing the meaning of external stakeholders.

Phase Six: Find the Exception

In the fifth phase of deconstruction, a position was constructed which argued that the narrative of The Salvation Army constructs a moral which portrays Salvationists as the only people capable of doing good and being truthful. However, as Boje (2001) notes, the moral in a narrative always has exceptions, and these can be traced intertextually within related stories. What can the exceptions in the moral of the constructed Salvation Army narrative tell us about its power? The major exception in the narrative is clear, although easy to overlook. The moral has indicated to us that non-believers are not credible. The nature of their fallen stature is that they are prone to lying. However, there are clear exceptions to this rule – particularly in relation to those who provide assistance to The Salvation Army. This is apparent in discussion of corporate donors. Whilst Mr Salvationist A blames ‘the greed of big business’ as responsible for a decline in the numbers of Salvationists attending Sunday corps, corporate donations appear to be warmly accepted by the organisation. Indeed, Officer Stuart Foster of The Salvation Army attributes the large levels of support received through donations as a whole to be evidence of the Army’s good reputation (Personal Communication, 2002d).

The Salvation Army’s need for corporate donations serves to undermine the central moral in the narrative. In denigrating the greed of big business, Mr Salvationist A articulates a position in which corporations fall into the damned non-believer category of the dichotomy. We can understand such categorisation as based on an understanding that corporations pursue vice over virtue – particularly with regard to their quest for profit. However, their donations are integral to the continuing works of The Salvation Army. What then happens in the narrative is that corporate donors undertake a strange transformation. These corporations metamorphose such that they are taken as credible witnesses to the Salvos’ work. This is in stark contrast to the original status of these corporations in which they were characterised as damned non-believers with low credibility. A prime example is Kraft Foods, whose Director of Corporate Affairs says:

‘Kraft is aware of the fine work the Salvos have been doing in drought affected rural communities across Australia and choose the Salvos because of their commitment to helping all Australians in need, which is aligned to the ‘Kraft Cares’ philosophy’ (Salvation Army, 2003).

Thus, the damned non-believer corporations suddenly become credible witnesses to The Salvation Army’s work when they choose to donate money. Hence, The Salvation Army serves to undermine the central saved believer / damned non-believer dichotomy. Suddenly there are shades of grey in relation to non-believers, where previously there only existed black and white. This is once again incredibly powerful because it demonstrates that the narrative is flexible when non-believers display sympathy to The Salvation Army. Hence the narrative alienates when legitimacy is called into account, but likewise, it accommodates when legitimacy is enhanced. Take as an example Officer Foster’s declaration that he had found the Tasmanian media to be ‘very sympathetic to our cause’ (Personal Communication, 2002d) – this demonstrates that other groups can become credible if they serve to enhance the legitimacy of the Salvos. A similar process occurs with clients, whose credibility is enhanced in the narrative when they advocate Salvation Army programs. For instance, Dusty Roads may have originally been a drug addict who ended up in jail, but after he undertook The Salvation Army’s Bridge Program he was able to furnish his house, find a partner, and reconcile with his parents (Bowes, 2002). This redemption through The Salvation Army now provided him with the credibility to be believed when he claimed that The Salvation Army had given him another chance in life. Thus, the narrative provides a very powerful moral, which offers flexibility in depicting key characters according to their own personal circumstances.

Phase Seven: Trace what is ‘between the lines’

In this final phase of analysis it is important to consider groups who have been silenced in the narrative. This is vital to deconstructing a narrative because silence can be indicative of a group which has been coerced, or one for whom the only way to express resistance is through keeping its own counsel (Boje, 2001). Hence, it is

important to search for groups on whose behalf The Salvation Army appears to have spoken in the narrative.

A key group which can be identified as fitting this description are the Australian servicemen of World Wars I and II. Thus, whilst Linsell (1997) and others attribute the superior reputation of The Salvation Army to their involvement with the Australian Infantry Forces, at no stage is the voice of an Australian soldier directly heard in the narrative. Thus it is left to a Salvationist such as Bolton (1980) to declare that the soldiers of World War I soon warmed to The Salvation Army's Will McKenzie and joined in his songs of worship. Likewise, The Salvation Army's Linsell (1997) claims that the bravery of the Salvos branded them with the imprint of the ANZAC. Even the interviewed Salvos continued with this assumption of support from the armed forces, with Mr Salvationist C (Personal Communication, 2002b) declaring that the Salvos were right up the front with the soldiers and that this had cemented the name of the organisation. The only outsider to whom we can attribute positive comments on The Salvation Army during the war years was Mrs Volunteer A, who acknowledged that her father and uncle had spoken positively of the Salvos (Personal Communication, 2002e). However, once again there is nothing which is directly attributable to the personnel of the Armed Services which has come through in the narrative.

This further demonstrates the power of the constructed Salvation Army narrative. Many Salvationists argue their organisation's reputation was borne as a result of their efforts in World War I and II, and this is common across the constructed narrative. However, this narrative has been constructed without direct communication from the diggers who participated in these wars. Furthermore, the narrative draws accolades and makes positive claims about The Salvation Army on the behalf of these diggers. Thus, we can see once more the power in the narrative in that it speaks on behalf of others in order to portray a view likely to enhance The Salvation Army's reputation.

Conclusion

The strategy of deconstruction has shown the narrative of The Salvation Army (as presented in earlier chapters) to be a very powerful tool in reputation management. It

is argued that the narrative is based on a central dichotomy which characterises Salvationists as saved believers and casts all others as damned non-believers. This has serious implications for The Salvation Army's reputation.

In privileging Salvationists, the narrative elevates virtue over vice, and serves to portray the Salvos as heroes in undertaking their virtuous practices. In doing this, the Salvos assume characteristics of compassion, warmth, and empathy. The non-believers are characterised as fallen individuals with addictions, broken relationships, and impoverished livelihoods. The original fallen people in Biblical times were Adam and Eve, who compounded their own sin in eating the forbidden fruit and then lying to God to cover up their mistake. In continuing this characterisation, the narrative questions the credibility of non-believers by portraying them as fallen people of the modern age.

Further power in the narrative was witnessed when it was demonstrated that damned non-believers could not undertake duties of compassionate assistance to the same levels as provided by Salvationists such as Will McKenzie or Joyce Harmer. This further legitimises the role of The Salvation Army in the provision of social welfare, and serves to create a competitive advantage for the organisation within the charity industry. In listening to the marginalised and repressed voices of the abused children from *'The Homies'*, we are able to further uncover power in the narrative. The characterisation of Salvationists as kind, caring, and compassionate people armed with the truth is balanced by characterisation of damned non-believers as fallen characters, trapped by sin and their own untrustworthiness. This is clearly a false dichotomy, as evidenced by the allegations of *'The Homies'*, however it is presented in the narrative as an immutable truth, further demonstrating the unobtrusive power in the narrative.

The moral of the story is that Salvationists are only capable of doing good and being truthful. The nature of a dichotomy means that what are inherent characteristics to the privileged must be found in opposite measures in the marginalised group. Hence, if the Salvos are good and truthful, then the damned non-believers must be capable of doing bad and being untruthful. This is a very strong characteristic of the narrative because it serves to undermine the accounts of *'The Homies'*. Only if we deny the plot

of the narrative can we start to see the allegations raised during the course of the documentary as credible insights into life in Salvation Army institutional homes. If the plot remains in place, then it scarcely seems possible that saved believers in The Salvation Army would be capable of such horrific deeds.

Exceptions to the moral of the narrative are identifiable in the manner in which non-Salvationists (damned non-believers) sympathetic to the cause of The Salvation Army are treated. Testimonies from these people are elevated above those of other non-believers, and as such their credibility rises. This demonstrates flexibility in the narrative in that it is able to accommodate non-believers who show support for Salvation Army initiatives. Finally, power in the narrative can also be demonstrated in that it speaks for members of Australia's Armed Forces during World War I and II. Whilst the argument is made that the reputation of The Salvation Army was established on the battlefields with Australian troops during these wars, a closer reading of the narrative indicates that not one of these troops can be heard directly through the text. As such, we can see coercion at play in that the narrative speaks for groups that have in fact remained failed to directly contribute to the narrative.

This deconstruction analysis has sought to demonstrate the unobtrusive power in The Salvation Army narrative, and has made preliminary arguments as to how this narrative manages the meaning of external stakeholders. The following chapter aims to further establish the strength of this narrative as a reputation management tool by analysing its effectiveness during times of reputational crisis. A theoretical model is then provided which seeks to explain how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders.

CHAPTER EIGHT – NARRATIVE AS A REPUTATIONAL MANAGEMENT TOOL IN THE SALVATION ARMY

Introduction

The argument presented in this chapter is that narrative is the key tool utilised by The Salvation Army to deliberately manage its reputation across multiple stakeholders – including government, volunteers, donors, the media, and clients. Two key characteristics of narrative are identified as supporting this argument. Firstly, narrative is seen as a means of communicating key messages to groups of stakeholders. Secondly, narrative provides a lens for framing the understanding of key stakeholders, particularly Salvationists, such that their actions support a favourable impression of the organisation.

This argument is supported through two stages of analysis. Firstly, the communication aspect of The Salvation Army narrative is explored by comparing elements of the narrative to the dimensions of the Reputation Quotient (RQ). The justification for this approach is that the RQ is a reputational measure which seeks to define an organisation's reputation, based on the perceptions of multiple stakeholder groups (Fombrun et al., 2000). If the narrative of The Salvation Army is a useful reputational management tool, then it should communicate the aspects of the RQ to its stakeholders such that they construct a favourable impression of the Salvos.

In the second stage of analysis, the case of Internet swimsuit model Sarah Jane is presented. The Salvation Army perceived that Sarah Jane had misappropriated their Red Shield logo, and hence took action to remove it from her website. This case demonstrates the manner in which understanding of The Salvation Army is framed by the narrative. In the case of Sarah Jane, the reputational management actions of The Salvation Army's John Dalziel are explained as resulting from an interpretation of the constructed narrative which characterised Sarah Jane as a fallen woman with low moral standing and therefore connotations of vice and low credibility. Hence, from a reputational standpoint, The Salvation Army would have been tarnished from any association with Sarah Jane, and as a result, they sought to disassociate themselves from her fundraising activities.

These two stages of analysis allow for the construction of a theoretical model which outlines how narrative allows The Salvation Army to manage its reputation across multiple stakeholders. It is argued that the narrative of The Salvation army acts as a ‘reputational mirror’, such that the powerful intersecting gaze of external stakeholders is reflected, and thus serves to protect the Salvos’ reputation.

Narrative as a Tool of Reputation Management

The argument presented in this chapter is that narrative is a key tool of reputation management in The Salvation Army. This is based on an understanding provided by Cunliffe et al (2004, p.263) that narrative is ‘a mode of communication and way of knowing and interpreting the world’. This definition encapsulates the two key reasons that the Salvos have utilised narrative as its major reputational management tool. Firstly, narrative has been used to communicate to key internal and external stakeholders, and secondly, the narrative frames the understanding and actions of stakeholders, particularly Salvationists themselves. As such, The Salvation Army demonstrates the two fundamental outcomes of effective narrative as defined by Shklovsky, who argues that:

‘To be successful, authors must (a) convince readers / listeners that a narrative is plausible within a given orienting context and (b) brings about a different way of viewing things, one which renews our perception of the world (in Chatman, 1978, p.48).

The first of Shklovsky’s outcomes of effective narrative implies that narrative is a key form of organisational communication. Organisations will aim to create credible narrative so that their actions may be interpreted favourably when communicated to key stakeholders. Barry and Elmes (1997, p.431) define narrative as ‘thematic, sequenced accounts that convey meaning from implied author to implied reader’. This definition highlights the communicative aspect of narrative. By serving as a ‘rhetorical device’ (Barry & Elmes, 1997, p.431), narratives communicate key messages to stakeholders.

In terms of organisational studies, many authors have identified narrative as a means for communicating information to an organisation's stakeholders. For example, Boje (2001, p.99) notes that Nike incorporates black athletes such as Tiger Woods and Marion Jones into its narrative so that it becomes 'heroic saviour of sports equity'. Boje, Driver, and Cai (2005) also demonstrate that grotesque fiction and humour in the McDonald's narrative serve to communicate aspects of the organisation such as its commitment to renewal to each generation of employees and customers. Meanwhile, Boje (1995) also shows that the narrative of Disney Corporation is a vital component of the organisation's communication network.

Schkovsky also claims effective narratives will renew our (reader's) perceptions of the world. In this way, narratives are powerful because 'we utilise them to determine, justify, and guide our lives' (Weick & Browning, 1986). This understanding is key because it shows that coherent narratives can frame our interpretations such that they drive action. Hardy et al (2000, p.1230) conclude that effective use of strategic language 'can galvanise organisations into action and, thereby, guarantee financial success'. In this sense, narrative is powerful because it can 'scribe meaning onto our existence that can be imprisoning' (Boje, Luhman, & Baack, 1999, p.341).

Once again, organisational studies have demonstrated both narrative and stories as powerful tools for framing meaning. Boje (1991) shows that customers, vendors, salespeople, and executives in an office-supply distribution company use stories to make sense of their setting. Weick (1993) argued that doomed firefighters in the Mann Gulch fire tragedy were unable to take action to preserve their lives because their stories made no sense in the scenario. Martin (1990) showed how one organisation framed its meaning to stakeholders around a male, public world, at the expense of a female, private understanding.

Hence, narratives have a dual role for organisations. Firstly, they are a vehicle for communicating key messages to stakeholders. Secondly, they frame the understanding of stakeholders, which in turn influences actions. In this sense, they demonstrate the characteristics of Hardy's (1985) 'unobtrusive power'. A view of how the narrative of The Salvation Army (as constructed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six) achieves these objectives will now be presented. This allows for an understanding to be developed of

how narrative has been used as a tool of reputation management in The Salvation Army.

Communicating The Salvation Army’s Reputation Through Narrative

In order to construct an understanding of how the narrative of The Salvation Army communicates reputation to its key stakeholders, it must be possible to outline instances in which the narrative either directly or indirectly alludes to elements of the organisation’s reputation. To complete this task, an overview of the reputational components of an organisation is required, such that we can see instances in the narrative where the organisation makes reputational claims to its stakeholders. Hence, the elements of reputation as outlined by Fombrun et al (2000), in the methodology of the Reputation Quotient (RQ), are utilised. The RQ is the most frequently utilised measure of reputation. It is based on twenty dimensions of reputation – devised following an extensive period of research which involved the design and testing of three pilot surveys. The third pilot test alone was conducted across a sample of 8,454 survey respondents (Fombrun et al., 2000). Subsequent research has sought to validate the RQ and assessed its dimensions favourably. For example, Groenland (2002) has qualitatively assessed these components of reputation, and determined that they are valid constructs. The components of reputation according to the RQ measure are presented in Table 8.1 below:

Table 8.1: Dimensions of Reputation according to the RQ (Fombrun, Gardberg, & Server, 2000, p.253)

Emotional Appeal
I have a good feeling about the company
I admire and respect the company
I trust this company
Products and Services
Stands behind its products and services
Develops innovative products and services
Offers high quality products and services
Offers products and services that are a good value for the money
Vision and Leadership

Has excellent leadership
Has a clear vision for its future
Recognises and takes advantage of market opportunities
Workplace Environment
Is well managed
Looks like a good company to work for
Looks like a company that would have good employees
Social and Environmental Responsibility
Supports good causes
Is an environmentally responsible company
Maintains high standards in the way it treats its people

This table has not been reproduced in its entirety, because the ‘financial performance’ dimensions of reputation have been removed. This is because the RQ was developed for capitalist corporations, and the financial dimensions look at the organisation’s record of profitability and the prospect for strong future growth (Fombrun et al., 2000). These have low relevance for non-profit organisations such as The Salvation Army, which instead aim to return all incomes and revenues to the community through their social work.

Emotional Appeal

The first dimension of reputation in the RQ states that ‘I have a good feeling about the company’. The narrative communicates this message strongly. The ‘good feeling’ about The Salvation Army may be based on any one of a number of historical or current strands in the narrative. In basing elements of the narrative on World Wars I and II, The Salvation Army taps into the Australian identity. These wars involved significant portions of the Australian population, and have proved defining moments in the development of the nation (Linsell, 1997). However, the narrative extends from the past through to the present, and bases understanding on the need for welfare assistance in the current environment. Hence, the narrative communicates that the Salvos assist homeless people, people from broken relationships, and the alcohol and drug addicted, amongst many others. The good feeling about The Salvation Army communicated in the narrative comes through in the line, ‘Thank God for the Salvos’.

In this statement, stakeholders are led to understand that only God would otherwise be able to do the work the Salvos currently perform, and that the entire community benefits from their efforts. Hence, the narrative communicates to stakeholders that they should have a good feeling about the Salvos.

The next statement of a reputational dimension in the RQ is 'I admire and respect the company'. The narrative reflects admiration from stakeholders towards the Salvos, such as Mrs Volunteer A, who claimed that the Salvos 'have a very good field track record, and they'll just go and help people' (Personal Communication, 2002e). Other stakeholders are identified in *The Mercury* newspaper as being eager to give assistance to the Salvos. For instance, Christina Sonnemann ran a benefit concert, and declared, 'I thought how great it would be to give people a chance to turn out and support the Salvos' (Bailey, 2004, p.6). These examples demonstrate that the narrative of The Salvation Army communicates admiration and respect from external stakeholders.

The final criterion for the emotional appeal component of reputation in the RQ is 'I trust this company'. Once again, the narrative communicates trust from external stakeholders as a key message. At the opening of a new Salvation Army centre on Hobart's eastern shore, the Lord Mayor described The Salvation Army as an organisation with 'vast experience, an excellent reputation and a long history of helping Tasmanians' (Waterhouse, 2002, p.11). The trust element in the narrative also comes through in the circumstances in which the Salvos have been shown to help. The Salvos have been demonstrated to offer assistance during wars, depression, and any one of a number of extreme personal circumstances. By indicating the lengths the Salvos will go to, the narrative communicates that stakeholders can trust The Salvation Army under any circumstance.

Products and Services

The first dimension of the products and services component of RQ is that the organisation 'stands behind its products and services'. This is communicated in the narrative of The Salvation Army by the mission, which states that the organisation's objective 'is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in his name

without discrimination' (Salvation Army, 1999). The Salvation Army therefore communicates that it stands behind the humanitarian services that it offers all members of the community, as demonstrated by the publicity which accompanies the products and services that constitute their welfare assistance (see: Salvation Army, 1998).

The next dimension of reputation is that the organisation 'develops innovative products and services'. Returning to articles from *The Mercury*, we can see that the constructed narrative communicates the innovative nature of Salvation Army assistance programs. A particular example is The Salvation Army's Prisoner Support Program, which was launched in 2003. Designed to work with prisoners both before and after release, the Prison Action Reform Group identified the innovative potential of the idea. The Group's spokeswoman, Vicki Douglas, said 'this [service] has been a long time coming and we're absolutely delighted' (Anderson, 2003, p.6). The Bridge Program for alcohol and drug rehabilitation is also identified in the narrative as being innovative. For instance, Aboriginal artist Dusty Roads claimed that the course had been individually tailored for him, and he had been given the freedom to make his own journey (Bowes, 2002). Finally, the success of the Amazing Waste Work for the Dole project was recognised with an award from the Federal Government, further indicating innovation in Salvation Army services.

The next dimension of reputation in the RQ is that the organisation offers high quality products and services. This is communicated in the narrative through the testimonials of those who have undertaken Salvation Army programs. Dusty Roads said after his treatment through the Bridge program that 'The Salvation Army has given me another chance in life and has enabled me to get my career up and running' (Bowes, 2002, p.21). Garry Baillie undertook the Prison Support Service, and said, 'my whole world fell apart but because of The Salvation Army and this place, its given me a chance to get back to some sort of usefulness' (Paine, 2005, p.7). Hence, quality of Salvation Army services is communicated through the narrative.

The final dimension of the products and services component of reputation in the RQ is that the organisation offers products and services that are good value for the money. In the case of non-profit organisations, this means stakeholders should perceive the

organisation's products and services to be good value for their donations. The narrative of The Salvation Army communicates this value by emphasising the breadth of services they offer, and the demand for their services. For example, in 1999, the Salvos claimed they were being approached by 1000 families in Tasmania per month for support (Barbeliuk, 1999, p.3). Meanwhile, the narrative shows the Salvos as offering assistance to homeless children, substance addicted persons, broken families, the elderly, the disabled, and the disadvantaged. This communicates a message that donating to the Salvos offers good value for money.

Vision and Leadership

The first dimension of the vision and leadership component of reputation is that the organisation has excellent leadership. The constructed narrative places great emphasis on historical characters such as William Booth, and Gore and Saunders in the Australian context. These leaders are recognised by modern Salvationists such as Commissioner Leslie Rusher, who describes the initial leaders as 'invincible men and women' (Cleary, 1993, p.103). Less is made of modern leaders. However, the structure of the organisation in a military hierarchy means leaders have undertaken years of training and enjoyed much practical experience before they reach senior positions. Whilst the narrative does not emphasise modern leaders, we can be sure that, from what is communicated, leaders have been educated in a tradition which has lasted 120 years.

The second dimension is that the organisation has a clear vision for its future. The narrative continually communicates the vision of William Booth as a guiding light for The Salvation Army. As Green points out, The Salvation Army is inextricably linked to Booth's vision (Salvation Army, 1999). This vision is encapsulated by Booth's decision to change the name of the Christian Mission to the name Salvation Army – an army aimed at rescuing all from sin. The vision of the Salvos as an evangelical and humanitarian force is communicated through the interviews conducted with Salvationists such as Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B, Mr Salvationist C, and Ms Salvationist D. Their concerns for the evangelical side of The Salvation Army's mission demonstrates that ordinary Salvationists remain committed to the vision established so long ago.

The final dimension of the vision and leadership component of reputation is that the organisation recognises and takes advantage of market opportunities. Once again, this does not seem immediately relevant to nonprofit organisations. However, what the narrative does serve to communicate is that The Salvation Army is quick to offer new services to disadvantaged groups as it recognises them. An example of this is the association formed with the Tasmanian state government to manage community housing. In this example, The Salvation Army are demonstrated as embarking on new approaches to offering assistance in the welfare sector. Thus, the narrative communicates an image of The Salvation Army in which it explores new market opportunities for offering assistance.

Workplace Environment

The first dimension of the Workplace Environment component of reputation is that the organisation is well managed. This message is communicated in the narrative by the number of successful programs offered by The Salvation Army. To offer such a volume of programs in so many welfare areas indicates that the organisation is likely to be well managed. This was also indicated by Officer Stuart Foster when he discussed the successful organisation of the Red Shield Appeal doorknock. Regional committees were established in each area of the state of Tasmania, and comprised prominent members of the community to oversee the collection effort. Officer Foster also discussed elements of management such as a three-month planning cycle, indicating that the organisation has a corporate approach in its management. Thus the narrative communicates that The Salvation Army is well managed.

The next dimension states that the organisation looks like a good company to work for. This is communicated in the narrative through the words of volunteers such as Mrs Volunteer A, who believed that by associating with The Salvation Army she could learn from them (Personal Communication, 2002e). This is a powerful message that the Salvos are a good company to work for. However, to fully 'work' for The Salvation Army, a person must become a Salvationist. One of the fundamental communicative messages in the narrative is that The Salvation Army is a good organisation of which to be a member because a person will gain eternal life. Hence, Mr Salvationist A said he was able 'to point people to a personal knowledge of Jesus

Christ... and there is nothing in the world more important to me than that' (Personal Communication, 2002a). The narrative therefore seeks to communicate to non-Salvationists that if they make a commitment to Christ by becoming a Salvationist, then they will enter heaven.

The final dimension of the workplace environment component of reputation is that the organisation looks like a company that would have good employees. This is also strongly communicated in the narrative. Salvationists are shown working in the trenches, on the streets, and under all manner of conditions of physical and mental duress. These people are shown to demonstrate care and compassion no matter the circumstances. As such, a key theme communicated in the narrative is that Salvationists are good people.

Social and Environmental Responsibility

The first dimension of the social and environmental responsibility component of reputation in the RQ is that the organisation supports good causes. This is a dominant characteristic of the constructed Salvation Army narrative – and Salvos are shown as helping a multitude of people in disadvantaged circumstances. The mission, in which it is stated that Salvationists must 'meet needs in his [Christ's] name without discrimination' (Salvation Army, 1999) guides this welfare effort. Salvationists are portrayed in the narrative undertaking good causes such as giving toys to children at Christmas, and providing homes to the disadvantaged.

The second dimension of the social and environmental responsibility component of reputation is that the organisation is an environmentally responsible company. This poses little relevance to The Salvation Army – and there is no discernable communication of this message in the narrative. However, the final dimension of the social and environmental responsibility component of reputation is that the organisation maintains high standards in the way it treats people – and this is another key message in the narrative. Salvationists are shown to treat people in a kind, compassionate, and caring manner across a wide variety of circumstances. For example, Mr Salvationist C spent his holidays every year managing homes for young boys and single mothers (Personal Communication, 2002b). Joyce Harmer is shown

to demonstrate great compassion for Kathleen Folbigg despite the nature of her alleged crimes (Henderson, 2005). Many more examples can be found in the narrative, demonstrating that a key message to be communicated in the narrative of The Salvation Army is that the Salvos maintain high standards in the way it treats people.

Overall, it can be seen that The Salvation Army manages its reputation through deliberate and rational attempts to communicate messages to external stakeholders. These messages correlate with the dimensions of reputation as identified by Fombrun et al (2000) in the RQ. The narrative projects The Salvation Army as an organisation with high emotional appeal, quality products and services, strong vision and leadership, a good workplace environment, and strong elements of social responsibility. The overall evaluation of The Salvation Army based on these dimensions as they appear in the narrative would be that the organisation has a very positive reputation. Hence, we can see the narrative as a communicative tool which The Salvation Army has used to enhance its reputation in the eyes of key stakeholders. However, the narrative is also important in that it frames the meaning of Salvation Army stakeholders. This notion will be explored through the case of Sarah Jane.

Managing Meaning Through Narrative: The Case of Sarah Jane

Sarah Jane is a successful entrepreneurial swimsuit model on the Internet. On 1 August 2001, she entered the Guinness Book of Records when her website was visited 2,249,342 times over a 24-hour period. This achievement has enabled Sarah Jane to declare herself to be ‘the world’s most downloaded woman and queen of the Internet’ (Sarah Jane, 2002a). The global success of the Internet site is demonstrated by the fact that the page may be viewed in any one of eleven different languages, including Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Greek.

As well as being a successful businesswoman, Sarah Jane is also a fundraiser for many charities, and has been a volunteer in a women’s mission (Sara Jane, 2002b). After the devastating New South Wales bushfires of Christmas 2001, Sarah Jane sought to use the popularity of her website to raise money for those people who had

lost homes and property. The Salvation Army launched a bushfire appeal, and Sarah Jane sought to raise money for the appeal by conducting an Internet auction, in which items for sale included swimsuits, lingerie and blouses she had worn.

The Salvos were responsible for retrieving all funds raised for the victims, and they also were the sole distributors of all assistance. Hence, the money Sarah Jane raised through the sale of her intimate apparel was to go to The Salvation Army. Potential bidders notified The Salvation Army that Sarah Jane's site was being used to raise money for the bushfire victims. A Salvation Army worker then looked up the site, and reported it up the hierarchical chain of command.

Exact details are contentious, but it seems as though Sara Jane sought to assure bidders that the money raised was going to the Salvation Army. The Salvation Army claimed that in doing this, Sarah Jane misappropriated the Red Shield logo by placing it on her website without permission (Dalziel, 2002). This claim was refuted by Sarah Jane, who argued, 'I never used the Salvation Army logo (Red Shield) on my site only the word (sic) 'Salvation Army' underlined and clickable with a link to their site' (Sara Jane, 2002b).

Whichever of these accounts is accurate, it seems both the Salvos and Sarah Jane were angered by each other's actions. Following the threat of legal action by the Salvation Army, Sarah Jane removed the contentious link from her web page. However, a Salvation Army employee also sent an email to Sarah Jane in response to the discovery of the misappropriation. The email contained wording which described Sarah Jane's Internet site as 'pornographic' (*A Current Affair*, 2002). Sarah Jane also threatened court action over this allegation, and the Salvos later publicly admitted that the allegation was incorrect.

Despite the acrimony from both sides over the issue, The Salvation Army's John Dalziel said that donations generated by the site would be 'gratefully received' (Dalziel, 2002). However, Sarah Jane remained unimpressed over Salvation Army actions, and even said, 'I'm disappointed because I mean, I've tried to do the right thing, and then I've come up against this political rubbish. So, yeah, I don't think it's fair at all' (*A Current Affair*, 2002). As a result, she determined that the funds should

go elsewhere and hence the money raised was donated to a struggling family in a housing commission house. Sarah Jane responded to interview questions that she felt this family would be appreciative of her assistance. 'They're really struggling, and um, I think that they'll, you know, be appreciative and I don't think I'll be judged in any way', said Sarah Jane (*A Current Affair*, 2002). The Internet model also organised corporate donations for the family, and was able to supply them with items such as beds, a television, clothing, and a holiday (Sarah Jane, 2002b).

John Dalziel's response to the Sarah Jane program on the high rating free-to-air television program *A Current Affair* was that The Salvation Army had a history of rebuffing other potential donors because their support was considered inappropriate. He claimed, 'we [the Salvos] have in fact refused very substantial donations, running into millions of dollars, because strings have been attached to it. It's not only doing the job that's important to us, it's the way we do it that's important' (*A Current Affair*, 2002). In relation to his own thoughts on the website, John Dalziel made the claim that he was not personally offended by the site, but that 'it's just not the kind of site The Salvation Army would be associated with' (*A Current Affair*, 2002).

Meanwhile, the case attracted exposure at both a national and international level. Nationally the issue received attention both through major daily newspapers such as Melbourne's Herald-Sun, as well as on television through Australia's highest rating current affairs show, *A Current Affair*. Given the Herald-Sun is a News Limited paper, the story was also available to News Limited agencies globally, as well as through unassociated news websites such as ANOVA. The case therefore became a major reputational management and brand preservation issue for The Salvation Army on a global scale.

Reputation Management through the lens of the Constructed Narrative of The Salvation Army

The above example describes a significant reputational management issue for The Salvation Army. Constructing an understanding of how reputation is managed across multiple stakeholders by The Salvation Army has been the overall objective of this thesis. The argument is that The Salvation Army manages its reputation via the

construction of a powerful narrative which manages the meaning of external stakeholders such that they construct a positive image of the Salvos. If this argument is to hold, then the frame imposed by the constructed narrative should provide a lens capable of explaining the manner in which The Salvation Army, in the case of Sarah Jane, managed its reputation. To begin this discussion, let's firstly return to the deconstruction analysis as presented in the previous chapter. According to this analysis, how can we frame the Sarah Jane case?

The essence of the constructed narrative is that The Salvation Army are only capable of doing good deeds and telling the truth. Therefore when the opportunity arose to coordinate a response on behalf of people affected by the loss of homes, property, and livelihood by the New South Wales bushfires, The Salvation Army grasped it. A key symbol of the goodness and truth of The Salvation Army has been the Red Shield, a symbol recognised by ninety-seven per cent of the Australian population (Newspoll, 2002). The Red Shield symbol was developed by a Canadian Salvation Army officer during World War I, and was a prominent symbol of care and hospitality on the battlefields of Europe, Africa, and Asia during World War II. The constructed narrative included the views of a number of voices who declared that the work undertaken by The Salvation Army during these wars has been a key factor in the development of the positive reputation of The Salvation Army (see: Linsell, 1997).

In the case of Sarah Jane, the situation arose where people wanted to contribute financially to The Salvation Army's bushfire appeal. This in itself was not problematic. The narrative provides a lens that frames the Salvos as the only party capable of providing humanitarian relief. If external donors are prepared to provide financial assistance to the Salvos, then it demonstrates that this narrative has managed the meaning of external stakeholder such that they have brought the propaganda. Therefore, this situation was not about the efforts of individuals to donate to The Salvation Army. The key issue in the Sara Jane case was that as a potential donor, Sara Jane had sought to raise money for the Salvos, but in the process of so doing had misappropriated either the Red Shield logo, or the Salvation Army name.

It is at this point that we can see the narrative as a powerful reputational management tool. How does the narrative frame the debate so that The Salvation Army are able to

make a decision? Consider that the Salvationist who made the decision to threaten Sara Jane with legal action was the Army's Communications Director, John Dalziel. He was a man who had spent his entire life in The Salvation Army, and his father had also been a very prominent Salvationist. As such, it is possible to assert that the narrative of The Salvation Army framed his understanding of the Sara Jane case. In this frame of reference, Sarah Jane is not characterised as 'Sara Jane philanthropist' rather, she is 'Sarah Jane damned non-believer'. This characterises her as fallen in the real sense of the word – a person who sells images of her body for profit. Such a livelihood brought Sarah Jane into conflict with The Salvation Army's puritanical values, and also their endeavours to lead a virtuous life. She effectively made her living from the vice of other people. In the frame of the narrative, Sarah Jane is not a donor, but rather needs salvation from her sins.

Imposing this frame on the case demonstrates that the reputation management decision for John Dalziel was actually quite easy. Sarah Jane, damned non-believer and fallen woman had misappropriated one of the key symbols of The Salvation Army. In fact, the Red Shield is not just any symbol of The Salvation Army, it is the key symbol on which the Salvos have sought to build their reputation as doers of good and preachers of the truth. Whilst this symbol was on Sarah Jane's website it was being tarnished by its association with a damned non-believer, someone capable of evil deeds and with low credibility. The issue therefore struck at the core of what the narrative constructs as the key positive differences of The Salvation Army. Under this frame of reference, the decision to threaten legal action against Sarah Jane was therefore not surprising, and nor was John Dalziel's publicly stated reason for pursuing such a course:

'This is an example of how carefully we ensure our name remains true to our organisation's principles. There is no doubt the donations generated by the site would be gratefully received. We have to look at the bigger picture and ensure that all fundraising is in keeping with all we have portrayed to the public' (Salvation Army, 2002).

Reputation Management in The Salvation Army

The Sarah Jane case provides the opportunity to propose a theory of how reputation is managed by The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders through the use of narrative. In saying that The Salvation Army uses narrative to manage the meaning of its stakeholders, the argument is that the narrative provides either a means of communicating key messages to stakeholders, or as would more likely be the case, it provides a frame for action and decision making by both The Salvation Army and its external stakeholders. This will now be discussed.

The first, and in some ways most important group of stakeholders to whom the narrative speaks, are the Salvationists themselves. What the narrative is effective in doing is creating and maintaining a Salvation Army organisational identity, where this identity answers the question, 'who are we?' (Albert & Whetten, 1985, p.267). As noted by Jabri (2002, p.567), 'narrative verbalises and localises the experiences of organisation members as they interpret and share work situations'. The narrative provides an unambiguous answer to this question by scripting the aims, mission, and life values of all practising Salvationists. It is possible to say that this narrative is very effective because the views of modern day Salvationists, as explored through the personal interviews in Chapter Five, are so consistent with the historical account of The Salvation Army as presented in Chapter Four. The modern day Salvationists had dedicated their lives to bringing people to God and relieving human suffering as had been decreed by William Booth some one hundred and twenty years earlier. They also upheld symbols such as the flag and the Red Shield which had been created during the Army's infancy, and they maintained a joyful evangelical worship such as may have been witnessed at Booth's Christian gatherings with the East London multitudes.

In the case of The Salvation Army, there is interest in the link between narrative and identity, because identity is closely related to effect. Whetten (in Whetten and Godfrey, 1998) has compared identity to an onion because an onion produces tears. Likewise, a strong organisational identity will cause an organisational member to act or behave in a certain way, thus creating an organisational reputation which correlates to this action. For instance, Barney (1999) identifies Koch Industries as a company with a reputation as a 'Discovery Company', based on its identity where employees

are expected to constantly search for profitable ways to grow the firm. In this instance, the research is interested as to what identity the constructed narrative has served to sustain in The Salvation Army. This link between narrative and identity is possible because stories form a key part of the sensemaking of organisational members and allows them to supplement individual memories with institutional memory (Boje, 1991). So, what identity can we say that the narrative of The Salvation Army has helped to sustain?

In the constructed narrative of The Salvation Army it can be seen that it is an evangelical organisation with a dual mission of converting people to God and relieving human suffering. Strong central characters are presented in the narrative, both to support the mission and provide examples to which Salvationists should aspire in their evangelical and welfare work. The mission is also supported by physical symbols such as the flag, the crest, the uniform, and Red Shield, which are all metaphors for the battle the Salvationist must fight for Christ. The narrative also provides a guide as to how Salvationists should conduct their lives. For instance, The Salvation Army is based on a formal military hierarchy in which individual Salvationists must undertake theological training in order to gain promotion. Also, rules and regulations decree a puritanical livelihood which must be strictly adhered.

This brief summary of the narrative constructs an identity for the organisation. But how does this identity affect the actions of Salvationists? It was argued in Chapter Seven that the key dichotomy in the constructed Salvation Army narrative delineates between saved believers and damned non-believers. In this frame, individuals can either choose to accept God into their hearts and become saved believers, or they can reject God and become damned non-believers. The choice is literally one between heaven and hell. Should the individual choose heaven, then the narrative has sustained a Salvation Army identity which creates a course of action to reach heaven. That is, the individual must become a Salvationist, and inherent to the notion of being a Salvationist is the virtuous practice of evangelic and humanitarian works through living a puritanical lifestyle.

Thus the strength of the narrative as a reputational management tool in The Salvation Army is that it sustains an identity which fosters the choice of salvation over

damnation. In order to avoid hell, the Salvationist must pursue an evangelical and humanitarian mission. Salvationists therefore want to demonstrate leadership in their charitable works. Indeed, they have to or else the narrative has framed the understanding that they will be going to hell. Thus the narrative serves as the basis for reputation in The Salvation Army because it provides an imperative for action.

The question now is as to how the narrative allows The Salvation Army to manage the meaning of its external stakeholders so that these stakeholders construct a positive reputation for the Salvos. Returning to Chapter Three, it has been argued that because The Salvation Army's welfare work is predicated on Christian philosophies, it operates under a vigilant gaze from external stakeholders. This panopticon of intersecting gazes ensures the Salvos' reputation will be punished should they fail to meet the expectations of broader society. Broader society is suspicious of virtuous activities carried out in the name of Christ, and has previously served to discipline elements of the Catholic and Anglican churches in particular when there has been evidence of hypocrisy. Why didn't this happen in the case of *The Homies* documentary?

The first consideration in constructing an understanding of this is to return to key characteristics of stakeholders. Rindova and Fombrun (1999) have argued that stakeholders will engage with firms in the aim of furthering their own objectives through resource allocations. In the instance of external stakeholders to The Salvation Army it is possible to make assertions as to what these objectives will be. Chapter Three discussed the effect of the neoliberal philosophy on Australian governments in that they have chosen to outsource direct provision of social welfare. Therefore, the objective of government association with The Salvation Army is so that they themselves are not required to directly incorporate welfare initiatives into the bureaucracy. Interviews with corporate donors in Chapter Six showed that there were a number of motives for their donations to the Salvos, from PR benefits to a 'feel good' factor. *The Mercury* news stories demonstrate that writing stories on The Salvos helps the media to exhibit an understanding of the community, whilst volunteers such as Mrs Volunteer A are interested in contributing to The Salvation Army to feel a sense of 'giving back' to society. Clients have a needs-based association with The Salvation Army based on their own imperatives.

Considering the objectives of these external stakeholders, we can begin to see why the panopticon gaze may have been averted in the case of *The Homies*. The gaze has been argued to be strong because liberal societies have a mistrust of Christian organisations and their involvement in welfare work as based on virtue. However, what the discussion on stakeholder objectives has arguably demonstrated is that it is convenient for stakeholders to choose to overlook the evangelical basis of The Salvation Army's actions. This can be seen in the interviews with the corporate donors, where no mention was made of The Salvation Army as a church. It is also likely other stakeholders choose to overlook this factor, particularly government, which does not want to directly provide welfare assistance to the community, and clients, for whom assistance from any quarter is necessary.

The narrative is the factor which encourages these stakeholders to overlook the evangelical side of The Salvation Army's mission. This is because from the moment that Booth declared 'it is impossible to visit them [the multitudes] without the means of relieving them' (Bolton, 1980, p.29), The Salvation Army adopted a dual imperative. Salvationists were required to perform humanitarian acts in order to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, as well as preach the gospel. This emphasis on humanitarian acts immediately created distinction from the Catholic and Anglican churches in particular, which remained divided by the notion of social welfare as a Christian imperative (Winnington-Ingram, 1896).

Thus the frame of the narrative required Salvationists to undertake social work. This social work also had to be performed to the utmost standards so that they could avoid going to hell. This means that external stakeholders have witnessed quality humanitarian acts by Salvationists over many decades. Some of the more significant acts have been incorporated and re-storied into the narrative, such as those from World War I and II, whilst others are likely to have been lost from official accounts but maintained in the perceptions of stakeholders. Thus external stakeholders have been conditioned to overlook the evangelism of The Salvation Army, and the Salvos have cemented a reputation as providers of welfare to the general public over almost one hundred and thirty years.

This explanation partially explains the strength of the narrative as a reputational tool in that it diverts the gaze of external stakeholders away from the evangelical mission of the Army. Liberal societies are suspicious of theological reasons for involvement in provision of welfare, and so to avert the gaze from this component of the Army's work provides immediate benefit. However, this gaze will still fall on the social welfare aspect of operations, so the theory does not yet explain the lack of damage to the reputation of The Salvation Army from *The Homies* case.

To construct an understanding of why this may be the case, it is important to return to the narrative itself. Understanding that narrative is both a mode of communication, and a way of knowing and interpreting the world (Cunliffe et al., 2002), the narrative of The Salvation Army demonstrates characteristics which both communicate to stakeholders, and manage their meaning such that they interpret the world of The Salvation Army favourably. The narrative does this by providing a lens of understanding. This lens is based on the key moral of the narrative as discussed in Chapter Seven – that is, Salvationists are only capable of carrying out good deeds and being truthful.

The moral comes through time and again, in the actions of heroic characters from the past such as William Booth and Will McKenzie, right through to the deeds of people such as Mrs Salvationist B in looking after the children of women prisoners. The corollary of this moral is that the narrative frames an understanding that only Salvationists are capable of carrying out these good deeds, and hence being truthful. This comes through in Will McKenzie's efforts in praying with the soldiers, or Joyce Harmer's eternal effect on Kathleen Folbigg's life – actions framed in the narrative as only capable of being performed by a Salvationist.

It is argued that at this juncture, the narrative subtly imparts its most compelling message to external stakeholders. The previous section has argued that there is much stakeholder self-interest at the heart of their relationship with The Salvation Army. Governments need to outsource welfare, donors want to look good to others through providing assistance, volunteers like to be seen to be giving back to the community, and clients require help from whichever quarter is willing to provide it. Combine this self-interest with the narrative frame in which only the Salvos are capable of good

welfare works, and the message to external stakeholders is clear – ‘you need the Salvos’.

This is apparent in the stories which come from *The Mercury* newspaper. In these stories, The Salvation Army are variously shown as supporting people through rehabilitation programs who have been addicted to alcohol and drugs, offering assistance to families through toy, food, and clothing donations, and looking after the community through opposition to poker machines, or offering rural outreach services. It is arguable as to whether any other welfare group in Australia is capable of offering this breadth of services.

Writers in *The Mercury* also show that The Salvation Army utilise their breadth of support as a major message to stakeholders during the course of their fundraising campaigns. For instance, Captain Barry Casey inferred the Salvos had many different support programs when he said, ‘it is difficult to trim our programs, but we will cope’ (*The Mercury*, 1994, p.5). When Christmas arrived in 1996, the emphasis from Captain Casey was that the Salvos had received 8000 requests for help, more than double the number for December 2005 (Diwell, 1996). In 1997, The Salvation Army’s Stuart Hamilton told *The Mercury* that the Salvos assisted 600 families per month just in their Hobart Centre (Langdon, 1997). Salvation Army spokesman Tony Foster encapsulated the long list of Salvation Army programs in 1998, when he said, ‘our welfare centre has assisted 14,000 families in the past 12 months... young and old, the unemployed, the alcohol and drug dependent, gamblers, families in crisis, people alone, [and] the homeless’ (Lamb, 1998, p.1).

Many more examples of similar statements can be found. These demonstrate that a key objective of the narrative is to frame an understanding for external stakeholders whereby they have a reliance on The Salvation Army for achieving their own objectives. If stakeholders don’t like to see broken families, or homeless people, or alcoholics, or the unemployed, then they are given a choice to support The Salvation Army. The strength of this message can be seen from the levels of resources which then flow to the Salvos from external stakeholders. Record levels of donations, record levels of government funding, and continued strong support from volunteers are all a feature of Salvation Army annual reports over recent years. This indicates that the

narrative has provided a strong positive frame by which stakeholders can understand the Salvos.

The final point of discussion in this section is that the narrative also provides a strong buffer to Salvation Army reputation in times of crisis. Arguably, the external stakeholder group most likely to make negative interpretations of Salvation Army actions are the clients – as occurred in the case of *The Homies*. This is a unique stakeholder group as they are the only stakeholders for whom there is little choice but to have an association with the Salvos. If this group of people feel wronged or upset by the Salvos, they have little opportunity to shop around for other welfare providers. They are also the group of stakeholders most likely to perceive The Salvation Army negatively. Welfare provision for most charities is a matter of taking action to target identified priority areas, usually armed with only a limited resource of funds (Sargeant, 1999). Not all clients who need assistance will receive it, and those who do receive it may not receive the levels of support they believe they require. This situation can easily cause resentment toward the welfare provider.

Hence, the narrative also provides a frame of understanding for times of reputational crisis. By casting clients as fallen people, the narrative serves to undermine their credibility. Should an issue emerge, it is likely to be pursued by the popular media as occurred in the case of both Sarah Jane and *The Homies*. However, presenting stories through the media is only the first barrier, and other external stakeholders are then asked to believe either the fallen people, or the good and faithful Salvos. For example, in the case of Sarah Jane, *A Current Affair* presented her story, but the narrative had framed Sarah Jane as a woman of loose morals. Thus, when it came to the point of reputational crisis, other stakeholders had to choose whether they trusted the woman of low moral standing, or the goodly Salvationists. In this sense, we can see the manner in which the constructed narrative frames the understanding of the external stakeholders.

Reputational Management Model: Narrative as a ‘Reputational Mirror’

The above discussion can now be portrayed in diagrammatic fashion. In the first step, the model shows a circular process whereby narrative is interpreted by Salvationists,

who then take action in the evangelical and social work arenas of society as a whole. This is the point at which narrative becomes key. In the understanding presented here, the narrative frames an understanding that the Salvationist must undertake good humanitarian deeds in order that they may enter the Kingdom of Heaven. By making this interpretation of the narrative, the practising Salvationist has effectively had his or her understanding of social work shaped such that they must carry out these works to the utmost of their abilities at all times.

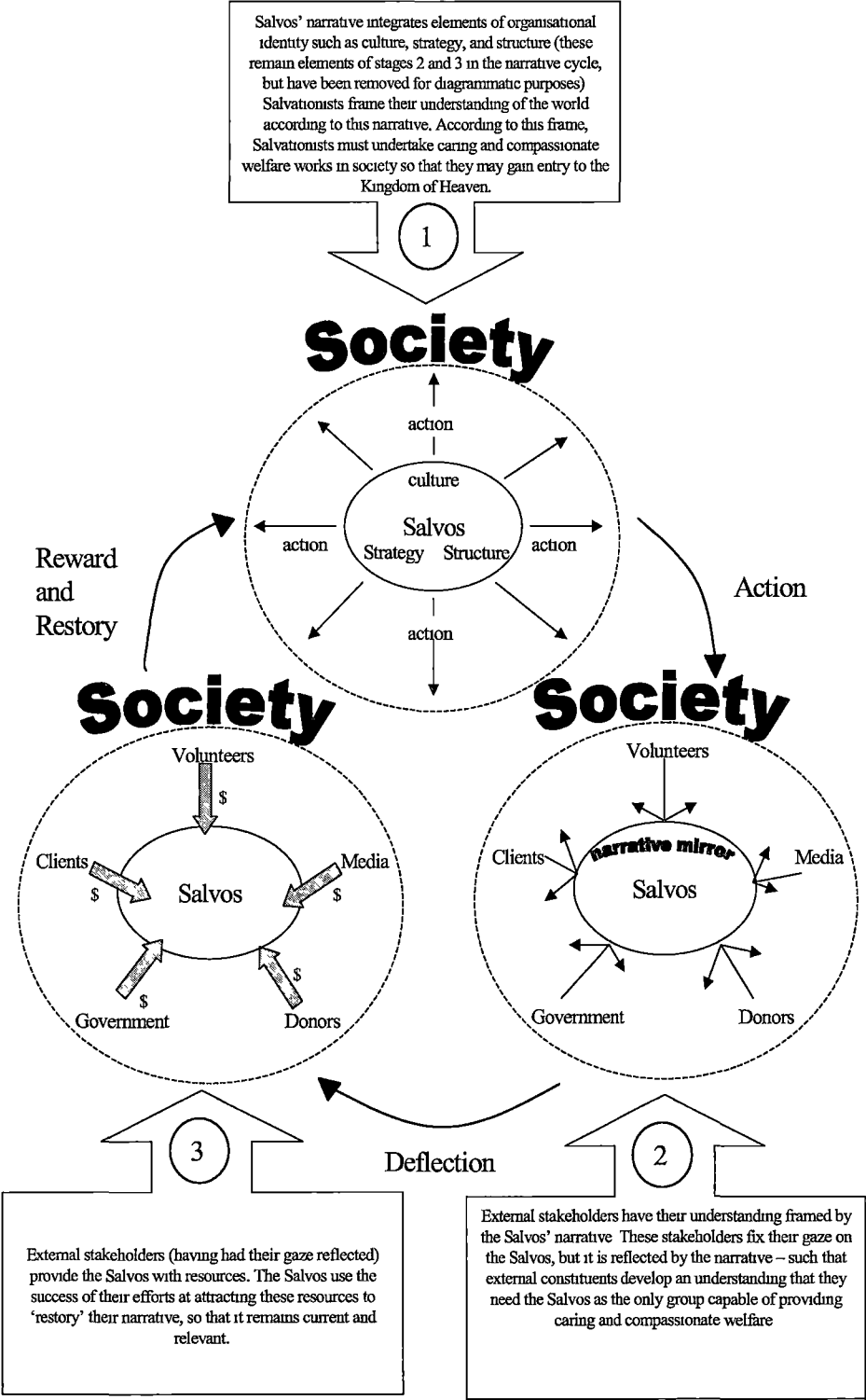
In the second step, the gaze of external stakeholders falls upon The Salvation Army. These external stakeholders engage with The Salvation Army in the interests of furthering their own objectives. These objectives mean that stakeholders such as governments have little interest in the evangelical component of The Salvation Army's mission. Rather, these stakeholders have a personal interest in seeing that The Salvation Army provides quality welfare assistance to certain sections of society, and hence, the intersecting gaze of external stakeholders falls on the humanitarian relief provided by the Salvos. Because the narrative has framed an understanding for Salvationists that they must perform good social deeds in order to find salvation, it is likely that when the intersecting gaze of external stakeholders falls upon The Salvation Army's social works, external stakeholders are likely to perceive work of a very high standard.

Finally, in step three the narrative shows stakeholders as having had their frame of understanding defined by The Salvation Army narrative. At this stage external stakeholders are likely to construct the understanding that they need The Salvation Army because only the Salvos can undertake the breadth of work they do in such a positive fashion. Hence, these stakeholders will provide resources to the Salvos. Stakeholders have been demonstrated as believing this central piece of propaganda in the narrative as seen in the record levels of resources which have flowed to The Salvation Army in recent years. The Salvos use this resource flow, and other interpretations of the success of the narrative to determine its overall utility. Stories which are judged to have contributed to successful outcomes can then be fed back into the narrative so that The Salvation Army can 'restory' and keep its relevance. A good example is the efforts of Joyce Harmer during the trial of Kathleen Folbigg. Joyce's story has been worked into the narrative to demonstrate that The Salvation Army has

an understanding of those who require salvation, regardless of their personal circumstances.

The above argument is now presented in Diagram 8.1.

Diagram 8.1: The Narrative Cycle In The Salvation Army



In the above diagram, we can see narrative as a tool of reputation management. However, it is in step two of the diagram that narrative is at its most effective in terms of reputation management for The Salvation Army. Narrative in this step is described here as a 'narrative mirror'. In many ways this is a useful metaphor, and one which seems apt for describing narrative as it applies to the management of reputation in The Salvation Army. To begin to explain this thinking, it is necessary to return to the notion of Foucault's panopticon. The panopticon is a guard tower in which prisoners are subject to the ever-vigilant gaze of guards. However, prisoners are unable to see the guards, and as a result they do not know at what times this gaze will fall upon them. Knowing that the guards are capable of punishing them, this serves to discipline the behaviour of the prisoners.

Taking the thinking behind the panopticon one step further, it is obvious that the prisoner will want to escape the gaze of the guards if at all possible, thus allowing them to undertake whatever activity they see fit. Thus we must consider how the prisoner may be capable of removing themselves from the gaze of the guards? The most obvious method for doing this is if the prisoner is able to construct a barrier between him / herself and the guards. What can we see as being the ultimate barrier for the prisoner? Something which just blocks the gaze of the guard, such as a box or table would seem futile because the guard's gaze will fall upon the object, realise the prisoner is trying to hide, and still impose punishment. If a useful organisational metaphor is to be developed from this line of thinking then the barrier must provide some form of defence to the prisoner which distracts the guard from suspicion of their activities. Hence, the suggestion that narrative is a reputational mirror for The Salvation Army.

A mirror is a useful barrier because its purpose is to reflect the image of the 'gazer'. In the case of the panopticon, if the prisoner hides behind a mirror, then the guard cannot see the prisoner. However, in contrast to objects such as a chair or table, the mirror serves to distract the guard by showing their own reflection. Whilst the guard studies what is reflected, the prisoner is able to continue his / her own actions without fear of punishment. Thus, we can begin to see narrative as a reputational mirror which averts the gaze of external stakeholders from the organisation.

In the case of The Salvation Army, the effect caused by reflecting the gaze of stakeholders back onto themselves through the narrative mirror is to lead individual stakeholders to understand their own needs for a functioning welfare system. Governments see that they are inefficient administrators of public welfare, and require the expertise of private organisations in order to provide services to the community. Businesses see that they rely on a functioning community for their profits. Volunteers see that effort is required to enhance their suburbs, and that they can undertake such effort through associations with charities. Finally, clients see that assistance is needed to live their lives. The narrative mirror therefore leads these stakeholders to consider their own needs and requirements before they consider anything else.

However, that is not all. The narrative mirror of The Salvation Army also acts like a room full of mirrors in a house of horrors. Just as these mirrors are warped and bent to distort characteristics of the subject into grotesque features, so too has the narrative of The Salvation Army managed the meaning of external stakeholders. In ‘warping’ and ‘bending’ its narrative, The Salvation Army has been successful in managing the meaning of external stakeholders such that they construct an understanding whereby they need the Salvos, rather than competing nonprofit organisations. Their understanding from the narrative is that only the Salvos are capable of providing the assistance that the stakeholders require. Hence the narrative cements The Salvation Army’s reputation.

To conclude, the narrative mirror serves to avert the gaze of external stakeholders away from The Salvation Army, and back onto the stakeholders themselves. In gazing at their own reflection, these stakeholders construct an understanding that they require a functioning welfare system. The narrative of The Salvation Army also warps this mirror so that stakeholders also have an understanding that The Salvation Army are the only organisation capable of providing quality welfare. Hence, a reputation is developed whereby the Salvos are perceived as superior to competitors in the charity industry, and as a result the organisation enjoys a higher flow of resources than any other charity.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to describe how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army. The argument has been that reputation is managed across multiple stakeholder groups through the use of narrative. This has been demonstrated through two areas of discussion. First of all, the dimensions of reputation, as identified by the developers of the RQ, have been compared to the narrative of The Salvation Army. This has served to show that the narrative seeks to communicate these dimensions of reputation to stakeholders such that they will construct an impression of the Salvos as a highly reputable organisation. Secondly, the case of Sarah Jane has served to construct an understanding of how the narrative of The Salvation Army manages the meaning of both internal and external stakeholders. In the narrative, Sarah Jane is characterised as a fallen woman rather than a personal donor, and hence the reputational management decision of The Salvation Army was not to be associated with her. This decision served to protect important symbols of The Salvation Army from reputational damage.

In pulling this argument together, it has been argued that narrative serves as a 'reputational mirror' for The Salvation Army. Stakeholders avert their gaze from the evangelical side of the Army's operations because their interests lie with the welfare component of operations. The narrative imposes an understanding on Salvationists whereby they must undertake quality welfare assistance so that they will go to heaven. The narrative mirror 'protects' Salvationists in their welfare operations because it reflects an image of external stakeholders back onto themselves which distracts their gaze. This narrative mirror reflects to the stakeholders that they need to have a strong and functioning welfare system. However, the mirror is also 'warped' and 'bent' because of the narrative, and this casts a reflection in which stakeholders are led to understand that The Salvation Army are able to provide superior welfare assistance to those of its competitors. As a result, resources flow from external stakeholders toward The Salvation Army, as has happened at record levels in recent years.

This is the constructed understanding of how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholder groups. Narrative has been identified as the key reputational management tool used by The Salvation Army, as based on its ability to

communicate to stakeholders and manage their meaning. As such, narrative represents the ultimate tool of unobtrusive power as exercised by The Salvation Army. The following chapter seeks to conclude this work by providing an outline of the argument of the thesis. The aim is also to identify areas for further research.

CHAPTER NINE - CONCLUSION

Introduction

There are three main objectives for this chapter. After a brief overview of the thesis chapter by chapter, the argument here focuses firstly on providing an overview of the plausibility of the theory generated by the research. This is necessary because the research has been undertaken from a social constructionist perspective, and it is therefore recognised that the interpretation provided during the course of writing is only one of a multitude of possible interpretations of the thesis question. Hence, there is a need to argue that the answer constructed during the course of research represents a plausible interpretation of how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders. Secondly, the broad implications of the research for both the theory of reputation, and the practice of social inquiry are outlined. It is argued that there are three particular components of research and analysis in this thesis which have the potential to make a contribution to the practice and theory of reputation management. Finally, a discussion is presented which highlights areas in which future research may be conducted as a result of the findings of this work.

An Overview of the Thesis

Chapter One provided an overview of the academic literature surrounding reputation. The etymology of the term was traced back to the Greek word 'kleos', and then the Latin word 'reputare'. Since the incorporation of the word reputation into the English language, the term has expanded and it now applies to collectives as well as individuals. Hence, organisations are often endowed with a reputation by key stakeholders. However, the term has become more prominent in the field of organisation studies as a result of the popularity of the Resource-Based View of the firm (RBV). The RBV emphasises a firm's internal characteristics as essential in creating competitive advantage, and thus recognises the importance of intangible resources such as corporate reputation.

This discussion allowed for the following definition of reputation to be adopted:

‘... a stakeholder’s overall evaluation of a company over time. This evaluation is based on the stakeholder’s direct experiences with the company and any other form of communication and symbolism that provides information about the firm’s actions and / or a comparison with the actions of other leading rivals’ (Gotsi & Wilson, 2001).

However, whilst the RBV has turned attention toward intangible resources such as reputation, researchers have also identified an ownership problem in characterising reputation as an intangible resource. This is summed up by Rindova (1997), who says:

‘on the one hand, they [reputations] are considered assets that are owned and managed by firms; on the other hand, they are perceptions of observers – perceptions over which firms have relatively limited control’ (1998).

Hence, for an organisation to manage its reputation, it must be able to manage the meaning of its stakeholders, so that they develop positive perceptions of the organisation. It was argued therefore that organisations would seek to manage the meaning of its stakeholders through the exercise of unobtrusive power. Hardy (1985) has identified that organisations use structure and culture, symbols, language, myths and rituals, ceremonies, and settings as tools of unobtrusive power.

Following this, the central research question was articulated: How is reputation managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders? This question was deemed useful to the study of reputation management, based on Fombrun and Van Riel’s (1997, p.5) request for researchers to ‘provide well-reasoned and defensible answers to questions about corporate reputation and reputational dynamics’. The Australian arm of The Salvation Army were also introduced as the organisation for analysis in the case study. Justification of the Salvos as the case organisation was based on evidence which suggested that stakeholders had constructed a view that The Salvation Army was superior to its competitors in the Australian charity industry. In particular, the level of resource flows from government, donor, and volunteer stakeholder groups served to identify The Salvation Army as an industry leader.

Chapter Two outlined the research strategy employed during the course of the thesis. A constructivist approach was adopted, and this was justified on the basis of an argument that reputation is in and of itself a constructed phenomenon – differing according to the interpretations of individual actors. The nature of the thesis as a single case study was then explained, with the argument that The Salvation Army presented a revelatory case in the study of reputation, based on their position as an outstanding organisation within the charity industry.

The process of collection of data for the case study was then articulated, and the method of analysis the data presented. Collected data was to be analysed through a process of deconstruction. This was based on an understanding that the case itself represented a narrative of The Salvation Army. Narrative was argued to contain all of the elements of unobtrusive power, and therefore the purpose of deconstructing the narrative could reveal the underlying power structures by which The Salvation Army managed its reputation. Hence, in order to study the management of reputation in The Salvation Army, the research sought to analyse the Army's narrative through employing a strategy of deconstruction to expose underlying structures of unobtrusive power. This deconstruction strategy was based on eight guidelines of deconstruction as identified by Boje (2001).

Finally, the role of the researcher in this thesis project was outlined. In particular, I noted some of the biases and mind-sets which I had brought to the research. This was based on an understanding that constructivist works are necessarily developed according to the worldview of the researcher (Husserl, 1970). The intention of declaring this was to alert the reader to the underlying power structures buried within the context of the writing of this thesis.

Chapter Three provided context to the Case Study. This chapter examined a context for action, and a context of action for The Salvation Army in Australia. The first part of the chapter looked at the context for Salvation Army action by examining Christian notions and philosophies of welfare. The conclusion was that Christian notions of charity are based on the pursuit of a virtuous life, and the associated rejection of vice. In Christian philosophies, charity is seen as the ultimate virtue, because it provides the means by which the soul moves toward God. However, the rise of liberal societies

based on the pursuit of wealth through capitalist economies has created suspicion in broader society of the virtuous life. Indeed, vice is now not so much avoided as it is celebrated, and the result has been that Christian groups have been placed under much scrutiny over their practices. The result is that Christian groups who operate within the charity field are increasingly subject to the ever-vigilant gaze of external stakeholders in the broader society. These stakeholders effectively place a panopticon watch over groups such as The Salvation Army, where the Salvos are always at risk of being disciplined should they fail to meet the expectations of society.

The second part of the chapter examined the context of action for The Salvation Army in Australia by looking at the country's welfare industry. Historical notions of welfare in Australia were explored, particularly the basis of social policy in Australia, and it was argued that this has been based on a three-tier level of protection. This protection applied to jobs, industry, and wages, and the primary aim of Australian social policy was to employ white male workers as a means of keeping people away from the need for welfare. However, this policy of protection had begun to unravel during the time of the Whitlam Government in the 1970's, and governments now pursue a neoliberal agenda in terms of their welfare policy. This meant that charity in Australia became a competitive industry, where service providers fought for government funding in order to undertake the provision of social services. Government efforts in Australia to open up the welfare industry to competitive pressures has placed further scrutiny on organisations that use public funds to provide social welfare assistance. Hence, the requirement for Salvation Army services in the welfare industry had increased, but whilst undertaking their welfare work, the organisation was subject to increased scrutiny from external stakeholders.

Chapter Four utilised secondary sources to present a history of The Salvation Army in Australia. The chapter was structured so that elements of The Salvation Army's history were presented according to the elements of unobtrusive power as identified in Chapter One. The structure of The Salvation Army was identified as being based on a military model, consistent with the views of the founding father, William Booth, who saw the Salvos as an army for God. William Booth and his wife Catherine founded The Salvation Army, and an overview was presented of their efforts in preaching to

the multitudes in the slums of East London in the 1870's. The international mission of The Salvation Army was also noted:

‘The Salvation Army, an international movement, is an evangelical part of the universal Christian Church. Its message is based on the Bible. Its ministry is motivated by love for God. Its mission is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in his name without discrimination’ (Salvation Army, 1999).

Puritanical values were identified as an important characteristic of The Salvation Army, undertaken by Salvationists in an effort to live a life of holiness. The organisation was also noted as being highly adept in its application of Public Relations. Symbols such as the Red Shield and the Salvation Army flag were also discussed. Following this, three stories significant to the development of The Salvation Army in Australia were presented. The first looked at the founding of the Australian arm of The Salvation Army, and particularly the work of Edward Gore and John Saunders. Then, stories of Salvation Army persecution at the hands of larrikins known as the ‘Skeleton Army’ were told, before the efforts of Salvos in the trenches of World War I and World War II were detailed. Finally, the chapter looked at the ceremony behind Salvation Army rituals in areas such as worship. The conclusion was that all of these factors combined in a powerful display of unobtrusive power to encourage Salvationists to fight a war in which their aim is to gain converts to Christ.

Chapter Five presented the views of everyday Salvationists as collected through personal interviews. This information was supplemented by information sourced from a biography by Henderson (2005) on Major Joyce Harmer. The argument presented was that the views of the Salvationists as sourced through interviews and secondary material, provided strong similarities with the historical information obtained in Chapter Four. In other words, Salvationists identified strongly with the teachings of William and Catherine Booth, and sought to live the type of life that had been prescribed for them in the late nineteenth century. The information sourced in interviews demonstrated that modern day Salvationists were highly aware of the symbols and rituals of The Salvation Army, and they identified strongly with the

international mission statement. This was reflected not only in their words, but also through the deeds they had performed during their lives in caring for members of society and preaching the gospel. Hence, we could see correlation between the historical account of the Salvos as presented in Chapter Four, and the views and beliefs of modern day Salvationists.

Chapter Six described the views of The Salvation Army held by external stakeholder groups, including the media, volunteers, and corporate donors. The media were explored by examining the articles written on The Salvation Army by *The Mercury* newspaper between 1993 and 2005. Of 84 articles printed during this time, only three were negative towards the Salvos, and the others were written in a positive tone.

The views of volunteers were presented through the personal interview conducted with Mrs Volunteer A. Mrs Volunteer A saw many reasons for being involved in raising funds for The Salvation Army, not least the fact that she saw them as offering high quality support to people in disadvantaged situations, and also the emphasis on family within The Salvation Army. Five corporate donors were also interviewed and their views presented. These donors supported The Salvation Army for a variety of reasons, ranging from the fact that support improved the esteem of the donor organisation, right through to the fact that one organisation's employees had asked them to do it.

Chapter Seven argued that the information from the case constituted a narrative. This was based on The Salvation Army's strong guiding hand in providing access to data and subjects for the case – a significant role which had helped to shape the nature of the inquiry. The key to answering the question as to how reputation was managed in The Salvation Army was to uncover the unobtrusive power in the narrative by utilising a strategy of deconstruction.

The deconstruction strategy used led to the argument that the narrative of The Salvation Army was based on a dichotomy between saved believers (Salvationists) and damned non-believers (others). From the perspective of managing reputation, a strength of the narrative is that it can be seen as constructing saved believers as heroes, whilst characterising non-believers as fallen characters, victims of their own

vice and low in credibility. The underlying power in the narrative therefore constructs an understanding of the Salvos where they are the only ones capable of carrying out caring and compassionate deeds of charity in a truthful manner.

This is a sufficient reason that the narrative is instrumental in providing a reputational barrier for The Salvation Army. This was demonstrated when hearing other sides of The Salvation Army story, those which would usually be hidden in 'official' accounts. In the story of *'The Homies'*, we were able to see that the characterisation of Salvos as the only people capable of carrying out caring and compassionate deeds of charity in a truthful manner was a falsehood. Not only were The Salvos capable of carrying out acts of cruelty, but they were also (allegedly) capable of attempting to cover up this information through the payment of monies to disaffected parties. The narrative was also shown to speak for groups such as Australian Servicemen during World War I and II – particularly with regard to the efforts of The Salvation Army in helping troops. Hence, it was possible to demonstrate that the narrative was capable of representing groups who may not necessarily lend their support to The Salvation Army.

Chapters One to Seven provide the basis for discussing how reputation is managed in The Salvation Army across multiple stakeholders in Chapter Eight. The argument presented in this chapter was that narrative was the key tool of reputation management in The Salvation Army, one which allowed it to manage its reputation across multiple stakeholder groups. This was based on an understanding that successfully managed organisational narratives provided both a means of communication, and also a way of changing the perceptions of readers / listeners. In order to demonstrate that the narrative of The Salvation Army had been effectively managed to provide competitive advantage in both of these areas, two research strategies were pursued.

Firstly, the dimensions of reputation, as identified by the authors of the Reputation Quotient (RQ), were listed. The research then looked at these dimensions individually, and determined that key areas of the narrative attempted to communicate reputational dimensions to both the internal and external stakeholders of The Salvation Army. The second part of the analysis presented the case study of Sarah Jane, used to demonstrate an instance in which the constructed narrative had served to

frame understanding for stakeholders and provoke a course of action. The argument was that the narrative serves to impose a frame of understanding on Salvationists whereby they construct all humanity as being totally depraved. Acts such as the use of pictures to titillate sexual desires and the selling of one's body for profit are strictly prohibited. Hence, the use by Sarah Jane of either The Salvation Army's name or Red Shield logo represented an attack on the organisation's reputation, and through the lens of understanding imposed by the narrative The Salvation Army managed the situation by zealously rebuffing Sarah Jane. Whilst the media pursued the story, the public's understanding of Sarah Jane had been framed by The Salvation Army narrative such that they perceived her as a fallen woman with loose morals and low credibility. Hence, societal support for The Salvation Army's donation efforts remained unaffected by the issue.

It was argued that in the case of The Salvation Army's reputation, the narrative acts as a mirror. This is important, because The Salvation Army operates under a panopticon from external stakeholders whereby an ever-vigilant gaze means that the Salvos' reputation is under constant threat. The narrative mirror serves as a barrier from the vigilant gaze of these external stakeholders, including government, the media, donors, volunteers, and clients. In reflecting the gaze, the narrative also distorts the image that external stakeholders see and in particular emphasises that external stakeholders need The Salvation Army in order to achieve successful social welfare initiatives. Hence, external actors interpret this message, and if they believe the propaganda (see Boje, 2001), they make resource allocations to The Salvation Army. The result has been record levels of donations and government funding to the Salvos in recent years (Salvation Army, 2006), thus demonstrating the effectiveness of the narrative mirror as a tool of reputation management for The Salvation Army.

Plausibility of the Theory

It is important now to provide defence of the theory which has been developed as a result of the research undertaken in this thesis. In particular, how plausible is the metaphor of narrative as a reputational mirror? Weick (1989) powerfully argues that the criterion to replace validation in theory construction is plausibility. This declaration brings about a different set of imperatives to those associated with

positivist research. Whilst positivistic studies seek to ground theoretical assertions in verification of hypotheses, Weick (1989) has argued that validation is not the key task of social science, and that the test of good theory is that it is plausible theory. Rather than provide a definition of plausibility, Weick (1989, p.517) identifies selection criteria; a theory is plausible if:

‘is interesting rather than obvious, obvious in novel ways, a source of unexpected connections, high in narrative rationality, aesthetically pleasing, or correspondent with presumed realities’.

This is in keeping with Gergen’s (1986, p.137) declaration that scientific theory will only acquire utility in the market of prediction and control if ‘there is correspondence between theoretical language and real-world events’. Good theory is therefore not necessarily verifiable, but it will include elements that make it useful, such as error and surprise, storytelling, research poetry, non-linear decision making, commonsense, firsthand knowledge, and research colleagues (Daft, 1983). Hence, it is important to outline how this thesis has been constructed to meet the selection criteria of good theory as outlined by Weick, and why it therefore represents useful social theory.

The first Weickian criterion of good theory is that it is interesting theory, that which is based on what happens when an assumption is disconfirmed (Weick, 1989). Davis (1971) describes interesting theory as something which ‘engages the attention’. This implies two mental states – the first being interesting theory in which the attention is engaged, and the second being uninteresting theory in which the attention is not engaged. When the attention is not engaged, then there is little chance of developing a breakthrough idea because inquiry typically follows strictures of debate which have long been formed. Therefore researchers must aim to go beyond that which has previously been explored and devise interesting explanations to social problems. Disconfirmed assumptions are important to this task because they allow the researcher to open avenues of inquiry may otherwise remain undiscovered. Hence, good research involves the researcher using disconfirmed assumptions to develop theory beyond that which goes beyond what may otherwise be considered as mundane or trivial. Daft

(1983b) phrases this differently when he asks the researcher to ‘build in plenty of room for error and surprise’.

In the case of this thesis, the research process has been documented to show where error and surprise have changed the course of the research. The supposition which I brought to the work was that The Salvation Army was a highly reputable organisation, and had this supposition not been challenged then I would most likely have attempted to verify the level or magnitude of this reputation. However, collection of data during the early stages of research showed that while my supposition was broadly supported, there were groups which had been significantly disadvantaged by the actions of The Salvation Army. Whilst much of this evidence was anecdotal and could not therefore be incorporated into the work, there eventually was a body of evidence which provided an informed critique of Salvation Army welfare provision – this being *The Homies* documentary, a gathering of negative information.

This documentary ran counter to the suppositions I had brought into this research, but by being open to the notion that certain groups had been significantly adversely affected by Salvation Army actions I was able to explore theory in the case in interesting and unexpected directions. If a select group of external stakeholders felt negatively toward The Salvation Army, then it served to indicate that the Salvos had to have some sort of ‘barrier’ in place to protect the superior reputation of their organisation. Hence, the opportunity to explore the notion of narrative as a reputational mirror – a finding which could not have been contemplated at the start of the research given the initial assumptions I brought to the case study.

The next selection criterion of a good theory according to Weick (1989) is that a significant theory will be obvious. This is because our major premises are often so obvious that we cannot bring ourselves to take them seriously (Homans, 1964). However, it is likely that for some groups the theory will not be obvious – and this helps to determine the boundaries outside of which a theory is unlikely to hold true.

The major premise, which only seemed obvious after embedding myself in the process of research and data analysis, is that the narrative of The Salvation Army is based on a saved believer / damned non-believer dichotomy. Corporate

communications from the Salvos had always seemed inclusive, particularly in that the organisation stressed it needed to develop partnerships with the general community in order to provide welfare assistance. For example, Salvation Army literature claims that:

‘At a time when the community is struggling with continual change, it is imperative that governments’, local communities, and community organisations find new ways of working together so that as a nation we are equipped for the world of the future and the most disadvantaged are not left behind’ (Salvation Army, 2000, p.28).

Yet, despite such public proclamations, at the very heart of the narrative is a very strong ‘us’ and ‘them’ theme, and indeed the characterisation of ‘them’ (others) has significantly negative connotations. Exposure of this dichotomy required interviews, analysis of data, and analysis of results before becoming apparent to me. In short, I had to really understand what it meant to be a Salvo before the duality became apparent. The fact that I had to immerse myself in the narrative before this became obvious demonstrates that groups outside of The Salvation Army are highly unlikely to approach the narrative in a way which will allow them to perceive themselves as damned non-believers to the Salvos. Indeed, this is the very definition of hegemonic power, in that hegemony has been defined in Chapter One as ‘a structure of power relations fully legitimised by an integrated system of cultural and normative assumptions’ (Hyman & Brough, 1975, p.199). The fact that the dichotomy is obvious to Salvationists is something which came through strongly in the personal interviews I conducted with members of the organisation. For example, Mr Salvationist C was concerned that the Salvos had been forced to employ an outsider, a Buddhist, under the terms of non-discrimination. Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B and Ms Salvationist D also expressed concern that government was forcing the Salvos to embrace outsiders in order to fulfil their welfare mission, to the detriment of their evangelical mission. In such instances, the Salvationists are expressing a strong understanding of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ nature of the narrative. Hence, the narrative maintains the normal functioning of this situation, in that it conveys a strong and obvious dichotomy to Salvationists, but it hides this dichotomy to outsiders.

The third selection criterion of good theory is that it makes unexpected connections (Weick, 1989). This means that one event connects to another event where it is least expected. An example from this thesis is the connection between narrative as a driver of organisational action, and narrative as a communicative device used to attract resources from external stakeholders. Hardy et al (2000) have demonstrated that discourse, in the form of both language and text, has a dual role for organisations in that it leads to strategic action and also serves to operate as a means of communication, thereby guaranteeing financial success. However, the unexpected connection in the theory is that there is a step which links these two events. That step is the second step in diagram 8.1 where the narrative of the Salvos acts as a mirror to reflect the gaze of external stakeholders. This is a key move for the Salvos because it provides a reputational buffer for their reputation and also frames the understanding of external stakeholders so that they construct a significant need for the involvement of the Salvos in the provision of welfare services.

Weick's (1989) fourth selection criterion of plausible theory is that a theory must be believable. This criterion is based on an understanding that theory construction often originates in a form of narrative (Polanyi, 1989). Weick says that a conjecture will be believable if the narrative is a prototypical story – consisting of elements such as a protagonist, a predicament, attempts to resolve a predicament, the outcomes of such attempts, and the reactions of the protagonists to the situation (Robinson & Hawpe, 1986, p.112). The theory construction should strengthen one of these elements of the story.

In this case, where the theory attempts to strengthen the elements of the prototypical story is with regard to The Salvation Army's attempts to resolve the predicament of threats to their reputation from stories told by Sarah Jane and *The Homies* and disseminated through media outlets. This is because there appeared to be a gap in this area of the narrative. There was little doubt that the accusations of *The Homies* in particular represented a significant reputational threat. However, the outcomes from this threat seemed almost negligible to the Salvos – there was no discernible additional media coverage of the story and donations to the Salvos continued to reach record levels. Yet, The Salvation Army's public attempts to resolve the predicament were insignificant, as evidenced by a lack of corresponding coverage of the issue

through other media outlets. John Dalziel appeared on *The Homies* documentary to answer questions, but there was no follow-up press release or appearance on other media. Thus, the theory needed to address possible mechanisms by which The Salvation Army may have resolved the predicament in a more subtle way. The understanding of narrative as a reputational mirror demonstrates that The Salvation Army has been building a powerful reputational buffer since its inception, and that this therefore significantly enhances the resilience of the reputation in times of crisis.

Weick (1989) also maintains that good theory will be aesthetically pleasing. In the case of this theory, the beauty lies in the metaphor of understanding narrative as a reputational mirror. This metaphor is based on an understanding that The Salvation Army undertakes their social welfare actions whilst under the intersecting gaze of external stakeholders. The panopticon effect that this implies is one of Foucault's (1972) most famous theories. Wood (2003, p.244) describes Foucault's work on the panopticon as 'a touchstone' in the disciplinary field of organisational studies. As such, it has had significant influence on development of theory in many areas of study. In basing the metaphor of a narrative reputational mirror on the metaphor of the panopticon, I have attempted to complement one of the most beautiful theories of the twentieth century. The beauty of the notion of narrative as a reputational mirror is that it is highly descriptive and easy to relate to Foucault's work. We can therefore see how the metaphor works in terms of complex theory such as the management of unobtrusive power.

Finally, Weick (1989) claims that plausible theory will meet the selection criteria 'that's real'. This means that the researcher will use experience, practice, and convention to select among different theoretical conjectures. In the case of this work I have brought a range of personal and professional experiences to the study. This increases the prospect that I have used prior experience to remove unlikely theoretical outcomes from the research.

Hence, I present the theory of narrative as a reputational mirror for The Salvation Army as a plausible theory. It is interesting in that it is based on the disconfirmed assumption that the actions of the Salvos are universally superior to all other members of the charity industry in Australia. The theory is also obvious in that the Salvos base

the narrative on a strong 'us' and 'them' dichotomy, but this dichotomy only became obvious during the course of immersing myself in the research process. The theory makes an unexpected connection between narrative as a tool which frames Salvation Army action, and narrative as a communicative tool designed to extract resources from external stakeholders. The connection is that the narrative protects the reputation of the Salvos by reflecting the gaze of external stakeholders and framing an understanding that they need the Salvos as superior providers of welfare assistance.

Possibilities for Future Research

The primary opportunities for future research lead from the notion of narrative as a mirror. It is potentially a significant tool of reputation management for many organisations. However, the circumstances under which this may occur need to be investigated.

It has been argued that narrative has served as a mirror which protects The Salvation Army's reputation from the intersecting gaze of external stakeholders. This narrative mirror also distorts the image of external stakeholders such that they construct an understanding in which they need The Salvation Army to provide quality welfare assistance. The initial questions for future research would revolve around the possibilities that narrative provides as a tool of reputation management for other organisations. Some of these questions will now be considered.

Turning to the notion of narrative as a mirror which protects reputation, it would be useful to consider the circumstances under which the narrative mirror offers good levels of protection. For instance, Boje and Rosile (2003) show that Enron's narrative diverted public attention from the hubris of their errant executives, accountants, and lawyers for a period of several years. Once again this demonstrates the importance of narrative as a reputation management tool. However, the resilience of narrative as a reputational barrier is interesting to consider. Returning to the Enron example, at what point and why did the narrative cease to protect management from scrutiny, and allow the intersecting gaze of external stakeholders to fall squarely upon the company? Likewise with The Salvation Army, the narrative has proved a resilient reputational buffer despite the claims from *The Homies*, but what actions or reputational crisis

might serve to undermine the narrative such that its reflective status was removed and the gaze of external stakeholders fell directly on The Salvation Army? It is important that future research considers the circumstances in which narrative ceases to be a barrier which protects reputation. Researchers may be able to address this issue through the construction of cases such as that of Enron, taking particular notice of when the crisis became so large that it smashed the narrative mirror.

Similarly, the mechanics of management of narrative need to be addressed in order to provide suggestions of how it can be deliberately used as a reputational management tool. The plausibility of The Salvation Army narrative has obviously been a key feature in its utility to reputation management, however, what other factors need to be considered? Boje (2001) identifies narrative as consisting of a central propaganda. Organisations need to understand how they can plausibly communicate this propaganda through the narrative. Myths, symbols, and rituals must all support the propaganda, or else it can be assumed that the narrative will be exposed as false by external stakeholders. It is important to examine of these other elements of unobtrusive power can be used to support the narrative, and indeed how they can be incorporated into the narrative to communicate key messages to external stakeholders.

Also, it is important to try to understand different types of narratives. It has been argued that The Salvation Army's narrative has provided a significant reputational advantage within the field of the charity industry. How relevant is narrative to other industries? There appear to be factors in the charity industry which arguably make narrative a more relevant factor than they may be in other industries. For example, government bodies may have thrown open the welfare industry to competition, but they support this industry through the provision of grants to charitable bodies. These governments remain accountable for the way in which they utilise public spending, and hence they will seek to scrutinise the operations of charitable organisations. In this situation, narrative would appear to be more necessary to protect the organisation from the gaze of government compared to other industries which do not rely on such heavy government support.

In other industries, it is also important to consider what sort of narratives may be effective. The Salvation Army has been successful in characterising themselves

through their narrative as heroic martyrs. However, it would seem unlikely that the notion of martyrdom would have the same resonance in an industry such as the airline industry for example. It is therefore important to consider what types of narratives are likely to be effective in which types of industries. For all of these research issues, the likelihood is that a case study method needs to be applied. This would enable researchers to look at details specific to each particular narrative, and determine defining characteristics. In the future, if the volume of work looking at particular narratives became significant, it may be possible to examine more broadly typical ways in which narratives serve to present a hegemonic tool of reputation management to fields of organisations.

Conclusion

The most significant argument made has been that narrative is the key tool by which The Salvation Army manages its reputation across multiple stakeholder groups. Indeed, so effective has The Salvation Army been in managing its reputation, that its narrative now constitutes a mirror which serves to protect reputation and manage the meaning of external stakeholders. Record resource flows to the company and minimal levels of criticism indicate the success of this strategy, and demonstrate the strong reputation which has accrued to The Salvation Army.

In terms of the contribution this work makes to the theory of reputation management, and indeed the field of social inquiry, I have identified three main enhancements. Firstly, in conceptualising reputation management as the management of meaning in external stakeholder groups, the aim has been to overcome the ownership dilemma posed by conceptualising reputation as an intangible resource. If an organisation seeks to manage reputation through managing the meaning of its stakeholders, then the ownership dilemma posed by Rindova (1997) becomes less relevant. Under this theoretical lens, organisations are able to reassert some control over their reputation, even though this reputation is still subject to the perceptions of external stakeholders. This justifies much of the literature, whereby theorists present reputation management prescriptions to practitioners.

The second contribution is made through the adoption of a narrative form of inquiry. Narrative is both an effective means of communicating to external stakeholders, and a way of framing understanding for these groups. As such, it represents a useful tool of reputation management. Narrative also embodies the elements of unobtrusive power such as strategy, culture, symbols, myths, rituals, and ceremonies and settings. As such, it presents an ideal means for understanding the broad application of reputation management across the whole of the organisation. Researchers who wish to analyse the narrative of an organisation should look for the emplotment which has been placed on the text by the organisation. This recognises that morals and themes are placed onto narrative through processes such as adding stories, ignoring others, and minimalising others. In doing this, the organisation utilises its narrative as a reputational management tool – and researchers wishing to understand how the organisation has performed this task should seek to strip back the layers of power so that they are able to see the hegemonic power structures which underlie it. Such an approach has potential to add discussion to the theory of reputation management.

Finally, the metaphor of a narrative mirror offers much to both practitioners and theorists. It has been argued that the mirror has provided a useful buffer to the reputation of The Salvation Army, and that this is a key reason behind their leadership in the welfare industry. Narrative is particularly useful as a means of constructing organisational actions as legitimate, and hence it can be used to manage the meaning of external stakeholders such that they construct the organisation as a reputable body within the industrial field. This therefore provides protection to the organisation's reputation in times of crisis, as has been demonstrated for The Salvation Army in the case of *The Homies* documentary. However, in order for this to be usefully applied by organisations, further research must be undertaken to examine issues such as whether the notion of a narrative mirror is applicable to all industries equally, and the circumstances under which the narrative mirror may smash during times of crisis.

LIST OF REFERENCES

A Current Affair, (2002), *Salvos Model*, 13 February

Abbott, T., (2001), 'The welfare revolution', *The Age*, 14 June, p.17

Abrahamsson, E., & Fombrun, C., (1992), 'Forging the iron cage: interorganizational networks and the production of macro-culture', *Journal of Management Studies*, vol.29, no.2, pp.175-194

Albert, S., & Whetten, D., (1985), 'Organizational identity', *Research in organizational behavior*, vol.7, pp.263-295

Alchian, A., & Demsetz, H., (1972), 'Production, information costs, and economic organization', *American Economic Review*, vol.62, no.5, pp.777-795

Alvesson, M., & Skoldberg, K., (2000), *Reflexive methodology: new vistas for qualitative research*, Sage, London

Anderson, C., (2003b), 'Bid to give released prisoners fresh start', in *The Mercury*, 16 October, p.6

Anderson, C., (2003a), 'Salvos care for elderly inmate', in *The Mercury*, 19 September, p.7

Argenti, P., & Druckemiller, B., (2004), 'Reputation and the Corporate Brand', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.6, no.4, pp.368-374

Ashforth, B., & Gibbs, B., (1990), 'The double edge of organizational legitimation', *Organization Science*, vol.1, no.2, pp. 177-194

Astley, W., & Zammuto, R., (1992), 'Organization Science, Managers, and Language Games', *Organization Science*, vol.3, no.4, pp.443-460

Australian Broadcasting Corporation, (2003), *The Homies*, 18 August

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2001), *Labour Force Statistics June*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2002), *Generosity of Australian Businesses: 2000-2001*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2005), *Labour Force Statistics June*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra

Australian Council of Social Service, (2006), *Australian Community Sector Survey 2006*, Australian Council of Social Service, Sydney

Australian Parliamentary Holdings (2002), 'Inquiry into sexual abuse of children in Church institutional care', http://www.aph.gov.au/SEnate/committee/clac_ctte/inst_care/report/c03.htm, 30 August

Babacan, H., (1996), 'The Kurds – who are they? Establishing Kurdish identity in Victoria', in Dalton, T., Draper, M., Weeks, W., & Wiseman, J., (1996), *Making Social Policy in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp.154-166

Bachrach, P., and Baratz, M., (1962), 'The Two Faces of Power', *American Political Science Review*, vol.56, pp.947-952

Bailey, S., (2004), 'Concert-goers warm to charity', in *The Mercury*, 30 May, p.6

Balmer, (1996), *The nature of corporate identity: an explanatory study undertaken within BBC Scotland*, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

Balmer, (1997), *Corporate Identity: Past, Present and Future*, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

Barbeliuk, A., (1999b), 'Help for boys on the brink', in *The Mercury*, 17 September, p.12

Barbeliuk, A., (1999a), 'State charities swamped', in *The Mercury*, 16 August, p.3

Barbeliuk, A., (2004), 'Arson attack closes Salvos' family stores', in *The Mercury*, 29 March, p.5

Barich, H, Kotler, P (1991), "A framework for marketing image management", *Sloan Management Review*, pp.94-104

Barney, J., (1986), 'Strategic Factor Markets: Expectations, Luck, and Business Strategy', *Management Science*, vol.32 (10), pp.1231-1241

Barney, J., (1991), 'Firm Resources and Sustained Competitive Advantage', *Journal of Management*, vol.17, no.1, pp.99-120

Barney, J., (1999), 'Koch Industries: Organizational Identity as Moral Philosophy', in, Whetten, D., & Godfrey, P., (eds.), *Identity in Organizations: Building Theory Through Conversations*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.106-109

Barney, J., (2001), 'Is the Resource-Based 'View' a useful perspective for strategic management research? Yes', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.26, no.1, pp.41-56

Barry, D., & Elmes, M., (1997), 'Strategy Retold: Toward a Narrative View of Strategic Discourse', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.22, no.2, April, pp.429-452

Barthes, R., (1977), 'Introduction to the structural analysis of narratives', in Barthes, R., *Image-Music Text* translated Heath, S., Collins, Glasgow, pp.79-124

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T., (1966), *The Social Construction of Reality: a Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Penguin, Hammondsworth

Bernstein, D (1984), *Company Image and Reality: A Critique of Corporate Communications*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, The Advertising Association, Eastbourne

Berreen, R., (1994), 'And thereby to discountenance mendicity', in Wearing, M., & Berreen, R., (eds.), *Welfare and Social Policy in Australia: the Distribution of Advantage*, Harcourt Brace, Sydney, pp.3-22

Bevilacqua, S., (1996), 'Tassie's Other Christmas', in *The Mercury*, 22 December, p.5

Bevilacqua, S., (2000), 'State charities feel the pinch', in *The Sunday Tasmanian*, 6 February, p.2

Bible Society in Australia, (1979), *Good News Bible*, Bible Society in Australia, Canberra

Birkigt, K.K, Stadler, M.M (1986), 'Corporate identity', in van Riel, C. (ed.), *Principles of Corporate Communication*, Prentice-Hall, London

Black, E., Carnes T., & Richardson, V., (2000), 'The market valuation of a corporate reputation', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.3, no.1, pp.31-42

Bloomfield, M., (1967), *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Michigan State University Press, Michigan

Boje, D., (2001a), 'The sexual politics of sneakers', *Organization and Environment*, vol.14, no.3, pp.356-363

Boje, David M., Rosile, G.A., Durant, R.A. & Luhman, J.T. (2004) 'Enron Spectacles: A Critical Dramaturgical Analysis', *Organization Studies*, vol.25, no.5, pp 1-24

Boje, D., & Rosile, G., (2003), 'Life Imitates Art: Enron's Epic and Tragic Narration', *Management Communication Quarterly*, vol.16, no.10, pp.2-41

Boje, D., (1991), 'The Storytelling Organization: A Study of Story Performance in an Office-Supply Firm', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol.36, no.1, pp.106-126

Boje, D., (1995), 'Stories of the Story-telling organization: A postmodern analysis of Disney as "Tamara-Land"', *Academy of Management Journal*, vol.38, no.4, pp.997-1035

Boje, D., Driver, M., & Cai, Y., (2005), 'Fiction and Humour in Transforming McDonald's Narrative Strategies', *Culture and Organization*, Vol.11, no.3, September, pp.195-208

Boje, D., Adler, T., & Black, J., (2005), 'Theatrical facades and agents in a synthesized analysis from Enron theatre: implications to transaction cost and agency theories', *Tamara: Journal of Critical Postmodern Organization Science*, vol.3, no.2, pp.39-55

Boje, D., (2001), *Narrative Methods for Organizational Communication and Research*, Sage Publications, London

Boje, D., Luhman, J., & Baack, D., (1999), 'Hegemonic stories and encounters between storytelling organizations', *Journal of Management Inquiry*, vol.8, no.4, pp.631-668

Bolton, B., (1980), *Booth's Drum*, Hodder and Stoughton, Sydney

Borland, J., & Kennedy, S., (1998), 'Dimensions, structure and history of Australian unemployment', in Debele, G., & Borland, J., (eds.), *Unemployment and the Labour Market*, Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney, pp.68-99

Bowes, B., (2002), 'Salvos help get Dusty on new road', *The Sunday Tasmanian*, 13 October, p.21

Bradley, T., Burke, S., & Trott, L., (2002), *The Age*, 17 March

- Briggs, J., (2000), 'John tees off for Salvos', *The Mercury*, 28 December, p.5
- Briggs, J., (2001), 'Salvos spread the spirit of Christmas', *The Mercury*, 23 December, p.7
- British Broadcasting Corporation, (2002), 'Australian Bishop denies sex cover-up', http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia_pacific/2018010.stmp, 31 May
- Broken Rites, (2006), <http://brokenrites.alphalink.com.au>, 24 March
- Bromley, D., (1993), *Reputation, Image, and Impression Management*, Wiley and Sons, New York
- Bromley, D., (2000), 'Psychological Aspects of Corporate Identity, Image and Reputation', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.3, no.3, pp.240-252
- Bromley, D., (2001), 'Relationship between personal and corporate reputation', *European Journal of Marketing*, vol.35, nos.3-4, pp.316-334
- Brook, S., (2002), 'Charities find life's a pitch', *The Australian*, 11 June, p.11
- Brown, M., (1985), ' "That reminds me of a story": speech action in organizational socialization', *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, vol. 49, pp.27-42
- Brown, M., (1990), 'Defining Stories in Organizations: characteristics and functions', in Anderson, J., (ed), *Communication Yearbook 13*, Sage, Newbury Park, pp.162-190
- Bruner, J., (1986), *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge
- Burrell, G., & Morgan, G., (1979), *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot

Burrell, G., (1996), 'Normal Science, Paradigms, Metaphors, Discourses, and Genealogies of Analysis', in Clegg, S., & Hardy, C., (eds) *Handbook of Organization Studies*, Sage Publications, London, pp.642-658

Business Week (1983), 'Personal computers: and the winner is IBM', *Business Week*, 3 October, p.76

Caruana, A., (1997), 'Corporate reputation: concept and measurement', vol.6, no.2, pp.109-118

Carter, S., & Deephouse, D., (1999), 'Tough talk and soothing speech: managing reputations for being tough and for being good', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.2, no.4, 1999, pp.308-332

Castles, F., (1985), *The Working Class and Welfare*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Cessario, R., (2001), 'Thomas Aquinas: A Doctor For the Ages', in Neuhaus, R., (ed), *The Second One Thousand Years: The People Who Defined a Millennium*, Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Michigan, pp.28-40

Chamberlin, E., (1933), *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge

Chatman, S., (1978), *Story and Discourse: Narrative structure in fiction and film*, Cornell University Press, New York

Clair, R., (1998), *Organizing Silence: a world of possibilities*, State University of New York Press, New York

Cleary, J., (1993), *Salvo! The Salvation Army in the 1990's*, Focus Books, Sydney

Clegg, S., & Hardy, C., (1996), 'Some Dare Call It Power', in Clegg, S., & Hardy C., (eds), *Handbook of Organization Studies*, Sage Publications, London, pp.622-641

Clegg, S., (1979), *The Theory of Power and Organization*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London

Clegg, S., (1982), 'Review of Burrell and Morgan (1979)', *Organization Studies*, vol.3, no.4, pp.380-381

Cohen, A., (1976), *Two-Dimensional man*, University of California Press, Berkley

Cornellisen, J., & Harris, P., (2001), 'The Corporate Identity Metaphor: Perspectives, Problems, and Prospects', *Journal of Marketing Management*, vol.17, pp.49-71

Cunliffe, A., Luhman, J., & Boje, D., (2004), 'Narrative Temporality: Implications for Organizational Research', *Organization Studies*, vol.25, no.2, pp.261-286

Czarniawska, B., (2004), *Narratives in Social Science Research*, Sage Publications, London

Czarniawska-Joerges, B., & Joerges, B., (1990), 'Linguistic Artifacts at Service of Organizational Control', in Gagliardi, P., (ed), *Symbols and Artifacts: Views of the Corporate Landscape*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 339-361

Daft, R., (1983a), *Organization Theory and Design*, West, New York

Daft, R., (1983b), 'Learning the craft of organizational research', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.8, no.4, pp.539-546

Dahl, R., (1957), 'The Concept of Power', *Behavioral Science*, vol.20, pp.201-215

Dale, P., (1952), *Salvation chariot: a review of the first seventy-one years of The Salvation Army in Australia 1880-1951*, Salvation Army Press, Melbourne

Dal Pont, G., (2000), *Charity Law in Australia and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

Dalton, T., Draper, M., Weeks, W., & Wiseman, J., (1996), *Making Social Policy in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Dalziel, J., (2002), 'The Salvation Army Responds to the Media Regarding Use of its Name', www.salvation-army.org.au/media/2002/020215_sarahjane.asp, 15 February

Danahar, G., Schirato, T., & Webb, J., (2000), *Understanding Foucault*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

David, A., & Wheelwright, E., (1989), *The Third Wave; Australia and Asian Capitalism*, Left Book Club Co-operative, Sydney

Davies, G., & Miles, L., (1998), 'Reputation Management: Theory Versus Practice', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.2, no.1, pp.16-27

Davis, M., (1971), 'That's Interesting', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, vol.1, pp.309-344

Deephouse, D., (2000), 'Media Reputation as a Strategic Resource: an Integration of Mass Communication and Resource-based Strategies', *Journal of Management*, vol.26, no.6, pp.1091-1112

Denzin, N., (1998), 'The Art and Politics of Interpretation', in Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y., (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.500-515

Derrida, J., (1999), in van Boheeman, C., (ed.) *Joyce, Derrida, Lacan and the Trauma of History: Reading, Narrative, and Postcolonialism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Dickey, B., (1987), *No Charity There: A Short History of Social Welfare in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

DiMaggio, P., & Powell, W., (1983), 'The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields', *American Sociological Review*, vol.48, pp.147-160

Diwell, S., (1996), 'Charities Face 'Tidal Wave' of Pleas for Assistance', *The Mercury*, 24 December, p.7

Diwell, S., (1997), 'Charities battle for donations', *The Mercury*, 5 April, p.7

Dollinger, M., Golden, P., & Saxton, T., (1997), 'The Effect of Reputation on the Decision to Joint Venture', *Strategic Management Journal*, vol.18, no.2, pp.127-140

Donaldson, L., (1985), *In Defence of Organization Theory: a Reply to the Critics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Donnison, A., (1998), *Policy for a Just Society*, Macmillan, London

Dowling, G., (1993), 'Developing Your Company Image Into a Corporate Asset', *Long Range Planning*, vol.26, no.2, pp.101-109

Dowling, G., (2001), *Creating Corporate Reputations: Identity, Image, and Performance*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

Dukerich, J., & Carter, S., (2000), 'Distorted Images and Reputation Repair', in Schultz, M., Hatch, M., & Larsen, M., (eds), *The Expressive Organization: Linking Identity, Reputation, and the Corporate Brand*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.97-112

Dunbar, R., & Kotha, S., (1998), 'Steinway: a Case of Reputation by Design', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.1, no.3, 1998, pp.283-287

Dutton, J., & Duckerich, J., (1991), 'Keeping an Eye on the Mirror: Image and Identity in Organizational Adaptation', *Academy of Management Journal*, vol.34, no.3, pp.517-554

Eslake, S., (2005), 'Tasmania On the Up and Up', <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=2897>, 10 January

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R., (1997), 'Critical Discourse Analysis: an Overview', in van Dijk, T., (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.258-284

Feldman, M., & March, J., (1981), 'Information in Organizations as Signal and Symbol', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol.26, pp.171-186

Field, F., (1996), *Stakeholder Welfare*, Institute of Economic Affairs Health and Welfare Unit, London

Fisher, W., (1987), *Human Communication as Narration: Toward a Philosophy of Reason, Value, and Action*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia

Flanagan, K., (2001a), 'Introduction', in Flanagan, K., & Jupp, P., (eds), *Virtue Ethics and Sociology: Issues of Modernity and Religion*, Palgrave, London, pp.1-20

Flanagan, K., (2001b), 'Vice and Virtue or Vice Versa: A Sociology of Being Good', in Flanagan, K., & Jupp, P., (eds), *Virtue Ethics and Sociology: Issues of Modernity and Religion*, Palgrave, London, pp.104-124

Flatt, S., & Kowalczyk, S., (2000), 'Do Corporate Reputations Partly Reflect External Perceptions of Organizational Culture?', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.3, no.4, pp.351-358

Fombrun, C., & Rindova, V., (1998), 'Reputation Management in Global 1000 Firms: A Benchmarking Study', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.1, no.3, pp.205-212

Fombrun, C., & Rindova, V., (2000), 'The Road to Transparency: Reputation Management at Royal Dutch / Shell', in Schultz, M., Hatch, M., & Larsen, M., (eds), *The Expressive Organization: Linking Identity, Reputation, and the Corporate Brand*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.77-96

Fombrun, C., & van Riel, C., (1998), 'The Reputational Landscape', *Corporate Reputation review*, vol.1, nos.1 2, pp. 5-13

Fombrun, C., (1996), *Reputation: Realizing Value From The Corporate Image*, Harvard Business School Press, Boston

Fombrun, C., (1998a), 'Reputation Management by Corporations', *Encyclopaedia of Applied Ethics*, vol. 3, pp.829-834

Fombrun, C., (1998b), 'The Art and Science of Reputation Management', *International Public Relations Review*, September, pp.4-8

Fombrun, C., Gardberg, N., & Server, J., (1999), 'The Reputation Quotient', *Journal of Brand Management*, vol.7, no.4, pp.241-255

Fombrun, C., & Shanley, M., (1990), 'What's in a name? Reputation building and corporate strategy', *Academy of Management Journal*, vol.33, no.2, pp.233-258

Forman, J., & Argenti, P., (2005), 'How Corporate Communication Influences Strategy Implementation, Reputation and the Corporate Brand: An exploratory Qualitative Study', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.8, no.3, pp.245-264

Foucault, M., (1972), *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Tavistock Publications, London

Foucault, M., (1979), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Random House, New York

Fox, C., (2002), 'The Cost of a Bad Reputation', *Australian Financial Review*, 10 December, p.53

Frank, L., (2001), 'The Evolution of the Seven Deadly Sins: From God to the Simpsons', *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol.35, no.1, Summer, pp.95-105

Friedman, M., (1962), *Capitalism and Freedom*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago

Freeman, R., (1984), *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, Pitman, Boston

Frooman, J., (1999), 'Stakeholder Influence Strategies', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.24, no.2, pp.191-205

Gagliardi, P., (1990), 'Artifacts as Pathways and Remains of Organizational Life', in Gagliardi, P., (ed), *Symbols and Artifacts: Views of the Corporate Landscape*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 3-32

Gardner, H., (1995), *Leading Minds: an Anatomy of Leadership*, Basic Books, New York

Garton, S., (1990), *Out of Luck: Poor Australians and Social Welfare 1788-1988*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Geist, P., & Hardesty, M., (1990), 'Ideological Positioning in Professionals' Narratives of Quality Medical Care', *Studies in Symbolic Interactionism*, vol.11, pp.257-284

Gergen, K., (1985), 'The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology', *American Psychologist*, vol.40, pp.266-275

Gergen, K., (1986), 'Correspondence Versus Autonomy in the Language of Understanding Human Action', in Fiske, D., Shweder, R., (eds.), *Metatheory in Social Science*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp.136-162

Gioia, D., (1998), 'From Individual to Organizational Identity', in Whetten, D., & Godfrey, P., (eds.), *Identity in Organizations: Building Theory Through Conversations*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.17-33

Gotsi, M., & Wilson, A., (2001), 'Corporate Reputation: Seeking a Definition', *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, vol.6, no.1, pp.24-30

Gramsci, A., (1971), *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Hoare, Q., & Smith, G., (trans.), International Publishers, New York

Grant, F., & Rowley, H., (1963), *Dictionary of the Bible*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York

Gray, E., & Balmer, J., (1998), 'Managing Corporate Image and Corporate Reputation', *Long Range Planning*, vol.31, no.5, pp.695-702

Green, D., (1993), *Reinventing Civil Society*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London

Green, D., (1996), *From Welfare State to Civil Society*, New Zealand Business Roundtable, Wellington

Green, R., (1999), 'William Booth's Vision for the Future', in Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army Year Book 2000*, The General of The Salvation Army, London, p4.

Groenland, E., (2002), 'Qualitative Research to Validate the RQ-Dimensions', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.4, no.4, Winter, pp.308-315

Grube, K., (1999), 'Swan song for a Salvo tradition', *The Mercury*, 1 June, p.1

Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y., (1994), 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research', in

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y., (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.105-117

Hall, R., (1992), 'The Strategic Analysis of Intangible Resources', *Strategic Management Journal*, vol.13, pp.135-144

Hall, R., (1993), 'A Framework Linking Intangible Resources and Capabilities to Sustainable Competitive Advantage', *Strategic Management Journal*, vol.14, pp.607-618

Hankinson, P., (2002), 'The Impact of Brand Orientation on Managerial practice: a Quantitative Study of the UK's Top 500 Nonprofit Organizations', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, vol.7, no.1, pp.30-44

Hanson, D., & Stuart, H., (2001), 'Failing the Reputation Management Test: The Case of BHP, the Big Australian', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.4, no.2, pp.128-143

Harding, A., (1997), 'The Suffering Middle: Trends in Income Inequality in Australia, 1982 to 1993-94', *Australian Economic Review*, vol.30, pp.341-358

Hardy, C., & Clegg, S., (1996), 'Some Dare Call It Power', in Clegg, S., & Hardy, C., (eds) *Handbook of Organization Studies*, Sage Publications, London, pp.622-641

Hardy, C., (1985), 'The Nature of Unobtrusive Power', *Journal of Management Studies*, vol.22, no.4, pp.384-399

Hardy, C., Palmer, I., & Phillips, N., (2000), 'Discourse as a Strategic Resource', *Human Relations*, vol.53, no.9, September, pp.1227-1248

Hardy, C., Lawrence, T., & Philips, N., (1998), 'Talking Action: Conversations, Narrative and Action in Interorganizational Collaboration', in Grant, D., Keenoy, T., & Osrick, C., (eds.), *Discourse and Organization*, Sage, London, pp. 65-83

Harvard, (2006), 'The Concept of the Hero in Greek Civilization', http://athome.harvard.edu/programs/nagy/threads/concept_of_hero.html, March 5

Hatch, M., (1994), 'Narrative and Rhetorical Style in the Discourses of Organization Theory', *Annual meeting of the Academy of Management*, Dallas

Hayek, F., (1944), *The Road to Serfdom*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London

Healey, J., (ed), (2002), *Poverty*, The Spinney Press, Sydney

Henderson, A., (2005), *An Angel in the Court: the Life of Major Joyce Harmer*, Harper Collins Publishers, Sydney

Hibbs, T., (2001), *Virtue's Splendour: Wisdom, Prudence, and the Human Good*, Fordham University Press, New York

Hill, C., & Jones, T., (1992), 'Stakeholder-agency Theory', *Journal of Management Studies*, vol.29, pp.131-154

Hirst, P., (1994), *Associative Democracy. New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*, Polity Press, Cambridge

Hitt, M., Keats, B., & DeMarie, S., (1998), 'Navigating in the New Competitive Landscape: Building Strategic Flexibility and Competitive Advantage in the 21st Century', *Academy of Management Executive*, vol.12, no.4, pp.22-42

Hoeken, H., & Renkema, J., (1998), 'Can Corrections Repair the Damage to a Corporate Image Caused by Negative Publicity?', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.2, no.1, 1998, pp.51-60

Homans, G., (1964) 'Contemporary Theory in Sociology', in Fans, R., (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, Rand McNally, Chicago, pp.951-977

Hoskisson, R., Hitt, M., Wan, W., & Yiu, D., (1999), 'Theory and Research in Strategic Management: Swings of a Pendulum', *Journal of Management*, vol.25, no.13, pp.417-456

Husserl, E., (1970), *Logical Investigations*, Findlay, J., (trans.), Routledge, London

Ilyman, R., & Brough, I., (1975), *Social Values and Industrial Relations*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford

Inglis, K., (1963), *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, Routledge, London

Jabri, M., (2002), 'Change as Shifting Identities: a Dialogic Perspective', *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, vol.17, no.6, pp.566-577

Jackson, N., & Carter, P., (1993), 'Paradigm Wars: a Response to Hugh Wilmott', *Organization Studies*, vol.14, no.5, pp.721-728

Jameson, F., (1981), *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, Routledge, New York

Jick, T., (1979), 'Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol.24, pp.602-611

Jones, M., (1996), *The Australian Welfare State; Evaluating Social Policy*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Jones, P., (2003) 'Introduction to the 1946 Edition', in Homer, *The Iliad*, Rieu, E., (trans.), Penguin Classics, 2003, pp.xlvi-lvii

Jordan, M., (1983), 'Names of God and the Being of Names', in Freddoso, A., (ed.), *Existence and Nature of God*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame

- Kenny, A., (1978), *The Aristotlean Ethics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Kearney, S., (1995), 'Op shop prices 'too high for needy'', in *The Mercury*, 5 August, p.7
- Kearney, S., (1996), 'Flak for move to \$1 pokies in pubs', in *The Mercury*, 20 June, p.9
- Kidd, D., (1987), *Latin English, English Latin Dictionary*, Collins, London
- Kilduff, M., (1993), 'Deconstructing Organizations', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.18, no.1, pp.13-31
- Kinney, J., (1988), *Walt Disney and assorted other characters: an unauthorized account of the early years at Disney*, Harmony Books, New York
- Kreps, G., (1989), 'Stories as repositories of organizational intelligence; implications for organizational development', in Anderson, J., (ed), *Communication Yearbook 13*, Sage, Newbury Park,
- Kristeva, J., (1986), *The Kristeva Reader*, Moi, T., (ed.), Blackwell, Oxford
- Khun, T., (1962), *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- Lamb, E., (1998), 'Salvos thank God for help', in *The Mercury*, 25 May, p.1
- Langdon, S., (1997), 'Café owner cooks up good idea to help Salvos' work', in *The Mercury*, 24 May, p.11
- Latham, M., (1998), *Civilising Global Capital: New Thinking For Australian Labor*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

- Lewis, C., (1982), *The Screwtape Letters*, Volunteer A Publishing, New York
- Linsell, D., (1997), *Thank God for the Salvos*, National Centre for Australian Studies, Melbourne
- Littlejohn, S., (1999), *Theories of Human Communication*, Wadsworth, California
- Lovibond, J., (1998), 'Salvos take control of public tenancies', *The Mercury*, 11 May, p.3
- Lovibond, J., (1999), 'New housing to replace hostel', *The Mercury*, 24 March, p.6
- Lower, G., (2004), 'Out for keeps', *The Mercury*, 7 February, p.41
- Lukes, S., (1974), *Power: A Radical View*, Macmillan, London
- Lyons, M., (2000), 'Non-profit organisations, social capital and social policy in Australia', in Winter, I., (ed), *Social Capital and Public Policy in Australia*, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Canberra
- MacIntyre, A., (1985), 'How psychology makes itself true – or false', in Koch, S., & Leary, D., (eds.), *A Century of Psychology as Science*, McGraw-Hill, New York
- Macintyre, A., (1987), *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, Duckworth, London
- Mackay, H., (1993), *Reinventing Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney
- Maddison, A., (1994), 'Explaining the Economic Performance of Nations:1820-1989', in Baumol, W., Nelson, R., & Wolff, E., (eds.), *Convergence of Productivity Cross National Studies and Historical Evidence*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.20-61
- March, J., & Simon, H., (1958), *Organizations*, Wiley and Sons, New York

Martin, J., (1990), 'Deconstructing Organizational Taboos: The Suppression of Gender Conflict in Organizations', *Organization Science*, vol.1, no.4, pp.339-359

Martin, J., & Frost, P., (1996), 'The Organizational Culture War Games: a Struggle for Intellectual Dominance', in Clegg, S., Hardy, C., & Nord, W., (eds.), *Handbook of Organizational Studies*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.599-621

Mason, C., (1993), 'What Image Do You Project', *Management Review*, No.82, pp.10-16

McMillan, G., & Joshi, M., (1997), 'Sustainable Competitive Advantage and Firm Performance: the Role of Intangible Resources', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.1, pp.81-85

Mendes, P., (2003), *Australia's Welfare Wars: The Players, The Politics and the Ideologies*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney

Meyer, J., & Rowan, B., (1977), 'Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol.83 (2), pp.340-363

Miles, R., & Cameron, K., (1982), *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey

Milgrom, P., & Roberts, J., (1986), 'Price and Advertising Signals of Product Quality', *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol.94, no.4, pp.796-821

Minnerath, R., (2003), 'The Biblical Vision of Work and the Contemporary Context', in Malinvaud, E., & Archer, M., (eds.), *Work and Human Fulfilment*, Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, Michigan, pp.249-254

Mitroff, I., & Kilmann, R., (1976), 'On Organization Stories: an Approach to the Design and Analysis of Organizations Through Myths and Stories', in Kilmann, R., Pondy, L., & Slevin, D., (eds), *The Management of Organizational Design*, vol.1, Elsevier, New York, pp.189-207

Mockler, N., (2004), 'Architects, Travel Agents and Bus Drivers: Images of Teacher Professional Identity in Public Discourse', *Australian Association for Education Annual Research Conference*, University of Melbourne, 28 November-2 December

Mumby, D., (1987), 'The Political Function of Narrative in Organizations', *Communication Monographs*, vol.54, pp.113-127

Neef, D., (2005), 'Managing Corporate Reputation and Risk', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.8, no.2, pp.164-168

Neville, B., Menguc, B., and Bell, S.J.. (2003) *Stakeholder Salience Reloaded: Operationalizing Corporate Social Responsibility* - Proceedings of the 2003 Australian and New Zealand Marketing Academy Conference, Conference Proceedings, Adelaide, Australia, December

Newspoll, (2002), *Salvation Army Red Shield Appeal Research 2002*, Newspoll, Sydney

Normann, R (1984), *Service Management: Strategy and Leadership in Service Businesses*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester

O'Connor, E., (1995), 'Paradoxes of Participation: Textual Analysis and Organisational Change', *Organization Studies*, vo.16, no.5, pp.769-803

O'Donnell, R., (1995), *Hooked on Philosophy: Thomas Aquinas Made Easy*, Alba House, New York

O'Keefe & Partners, (2001), *Giving Trends in Australia 2000*, O'Keefe & Partners, Sydney

Olins, W (1989), *Corporate Identity: Making Business Strategy Visible through Design*, Thames and Hudson, London

Paine, M., (2005), 'Salvation for Prisoners', *The Mercury*, 30 April, p.7

Pajares, F., (2006), 'Thomas Kuhn and the Structure of Scientific Revolutions',
<http://webpages.shepherd.edu/maustin/kuhn/kuhn.htm>, 24 March

Payne, M., (1993), *Reading Theory: An Introduction to Lacan, Derrida, and Kristeva*, Blackwell, Massachusetts

Personal Communication, (2002a), Mr and Mrs Salvationist A and B, 13 May

Personal Communication, (2002b), Mr Salvationist C, 16 May

Personal Communication, (2002c), Ms Salvationist D, 13 May

Personal Communication, (2002d), Stuart Foster, 8 July

Personal Communication, (2002e), Mrs Volunteer A, 9 July

Personal Communication, (2002f), Company A, 10 July

Personal Communication, (2002g), Company B, 17 July

Personal Communication, (2002h), Company C, 12 July

Personal Communication, (2002i), Company D, 15 July 2002

Personal Communication (2002j), Company E, 5 July 2002

Polanyi, K., (1989), *Telling the American Story*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge

Polkinghorne, D., (1988), *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*, State University of New York Press, Albany

Porac, J., & Thomas, H., (1990), 'Taxonomic Mental Models in Competitor Definition', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.15, pp.224-240

Porter, M., (1985), *Competitive Advantage: Creating and Sustaining Superior Performance*, Free Press, New York

Pos, M., (2001), 'Helping Hands', *The Mercury*, 5 January, p.17

Priem, R., & Butler, J., (2001), 'Is the Resource-Based View A Useful Perspective For Strategic Management Research?', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.26, no.1, pp.22-40

Public Questions Board, (1992a), *Alcohol and Other Drugs*, Salvation Army, Sydney

Public Questions Board, (1992b), *Euthanasia*, Salvation Army, Sydney

Public Questions Board, (1991), *Gambling*, Salvation Army, Sydney

Public Questions Board, (1996), *Homosexuality*, Salvation Army, Sydney

Pusey, M., (1993), 'Reclaiming the Middle Ground... From New Right 'Economic Rationalism'', in King, S., & Lloyd, P., (eds), *Economic Rationalism: Dead End or Way Forward?*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp.12-27

Putnam, L., Phillips, N., & Chapman, P., (1996), 'Metaphors of Communication and Organization', in Clegg, S., & Hardy, C., (eds) *Handbook of Organization Studies*, Sage Publications, London, pp.375-408

Read, G., (2001), 'Christmas On The Run', *The Mercury*, 6 December, p.3

Ribbon, A., (2002a), 'Dole Project Award for Amazing Waste', *The Mercury*, 14 December, p.15

Ribbon, A., (2002b), 'Looking For Tips, Now He's Going Places', *The Mercury*, 7 November, p.9

Ricoeur, P., (1984), *Time and Narrative (Volume 1)*, McLaughlin, K., & Pellauer, D., (trans.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago

Rindova, V., & Fombrun, C., (1999), 'Constructing Competitive Advantage: The Role of Firm-Constituent Interactions', *Strategic Management Journal*, vol.20, pp.691-710

Rindova, V., (1997), 'The Image Cascade and the Dynamics of Corporate Reputations', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.1, no.2, pp.188-194

Ritchie, R., Swami, S., & Weinberg, C., (1998), 'A Brand New World for Nonprofits', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, vol.4 no.1, pp.26-42

Robinson, J., & Hawpe, L., (1986), 'Narrative Thinking as a Heuristic Process', in Sarbin, T., (ed.), *Narrative Psychology*, Prager, New York, pp.111-125

Rose, D., (2000), 'Burnie a Magnet for the Homeless', *The Mercury*, 24 May, p.11

Rose, D., (2002b), 'Fully Clothed in Kindness', *The Mercury*, 19 December, pp.1-2

Rose, D., (2002a), 'Salvo Plea for Clothes After Blaze', *The Mercury*, 18 December, p.3

Rose, M., (1996), 'Summit to Tackle Street Problems', *The Mercury*, 4 April, p.11

Rose, M., (1994), 'Alcoholic Thanks Salvos He's Sober', *The Mercury*, 6 September, p.3

Ryan, G., & Barnard, H., (2000), 'Data Management and Analysis Measures', in Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y., (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.769-802

Salvation Army, (1999) *The Salvation Army Year Book 2000*, The General of The Salvation Army, London

Salvation Army, (2003), 'Corporations Step in to Support Rural Crisis', www.salvationarmy.org.au/business/corporate.asp, 17 July

Salvation Army, (1998), *Thank God for the Salvos*, The Salvation Army, The General of The Salvation Army, London

Salvation Army, (2002), *Annual Report 2001-2002*, Salvation Army, Melbourne

Salvation Army, (2005), *Annual Report 2004-2005*, Salvation Army, Melbourne

Salvation Army, (2006), <http://www.salvationarmy.org.au/students/>, 21 March

Salvation Army (2000), *Coping with Change: Serving Disadvantaged Australians Into the 21st Century*, Salvation Army Australia, Melbourne

Sarah Jane (2002a), personal communication, 19 June

Sarah Jane (2002b), personal communication, 19 June

Sargeant, A., (1999), *Marketing Management for Nonprofit Organizations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

Saunders, P. (2002), *The Ends and Means of Welfare: Coping With Economic and Social Change in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Saxton, M., (1998), 'Where Do Reputations Come From?', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.1, no.4, pp.393-399

Schein, E., (1985), *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Wiley Publishers, New York

Schwandt, T., (1994), 'Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry', in Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y., (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.118-137

Scott, M., & Lyman, S., (1968), 'Accounts', *American Sociological Review*, vol.33, pp.46-62

Sims, A., (1999), 'Salvos Concerned by Drop in Donations', *The Mercury*, 3 June, p.10

Sims, D., Fineman, S., & Gabriel, Y., (1993), *Organizing and Organizations*, Sage Publications, London

Sims, H., Gioia, D., & Associates, (1986) *The Thinking Organization*, Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco

Smircich, L., (1983), 'Concepts of Culture and Organizational Analysis', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol.28, pp.339-358

Smircich, L., & Stubbart, C., (1985) 'Strategic Management in an Enacted World', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.10, no.4, pp.724-736

Smith, A., (1776), *The Wealth of Nations*, Methuen and Company, London

Smith, R., (1994), 'The Major Party Competition: Social Welfare Since 1972', in Wearing, M., & Berreen, R., (eds.), *Welfare and Social Policy in Australia: the Distribution of Advantage*, Harcourt Brace, Sydney, pp.57-79

Stacey, E., (1997), 'The Milk of Human Kindness for Street Kids', *The Mercury*, 24 April, p.9

Stake, R., (2000), 'Case Studies', in Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y., (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research 2nd Ed.*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp. 435-454

Standen, R., (1995), 'Welfare Groups Pinpoint the Troublemakers', *The Mercury*, 4 April, p.2

Stevenson, S., (1999a), 'Angry Mums Slam Salvos', *The Mercury*, 16 July, pp.1 2

Stevenson, S., (1999b), 'Salvos Try to Ease Adoption Outrage', *The Mercury*, 17 July, p.3

Stigler, G., (1962), 'Information in the Labor Market', *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol.70, no.5, pp.94-105

Stimpert, J., Gustafson, L., & Sarason, Y., (1998), 'Organizational Identity Within the Strategic Management Conversation: Contributions and Assumptions', in Whetten, D., & Godfrey, P., (eds.) (1998), *Identity in Organizations: building theory through conversations*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp.83-88

Tajfel, H., (1982), 'Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations', *Annual Review of Psychology*, vol.33, pp.1-39

Tarling, L., (1980), *Thank God For the Salvos: The Salvation Army in Australia 1880-1980*, Harper & Rowe, Sydney

The Mercury, (1994), 'Salvos Saved at the Death Knock', *The Mercury*, 28 July, p.5

The Mercury, (1996), 'Business, Salvos to Help Needy', *The Mercury*, 21 December, p.7

The Mercury, (1996), 'Driving Salvos' Message Home', *The Mercury*, 4 April, p.11

The Mercury, (1998), 'Homes With a Heart', *The Mercury*, 12 May, p.18

The Mercury, (2000), 'Salvos' Collection Bin Targeted by Arsonists', *The Mercury*, 12 January, p.11

The Mercury, (2000), 'Changing of Guard', *The Mercury*, 12 January, p.40

The Mercury, (2004), 'From Jail Cell to Safe Home', *The Mercury*, 23 July, p.20

The Mercury, (2004), 'Internet Café Has Jobs on the Menu', *The Mercury*, 16 July, p.11

The Mercury, (2005), 'Salvos Open \$7.5m Aged Care Facility', *The Mercury*, 16 April, p.12

The Mercury, 'Salvos' Collection Bin Targeted by Arsonists', *The Mercury*, 12 January, p.11

The Sunday Tasmanian, (2000), 'Donate a Note to the Salvos', The Sunday Tasmanian, 21 May, p.7

Thow, P., (2001), 'Scheme Helps to Keep Battlers on the Road', *The Mercury*, 6 July, p.2

Tucker, L., & Melewar, T., (2005), 'Corporate Reputation and Crisis Management: The Threat and Manageability of Anti-corporatism', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.7, no.4, pp.377-387

TwoTrees, K., (1997), *Presentation at the International Academy of Disciplines Conference*, Ohio

Van der Jagt, R., (2005), 'Senior Business Executives See Communication and Reputation as a Crucial Part of their Leadership Role', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.8, no.3, pp.179-186

Van Looy, B., Gemmel, P., & Van Dierdonck, R., (2003), *Services Management: An Integrated Approach*, Pearson Education, Essex

Varez, R., & White, J., (2000), 'The Corporate Communication System of Managing', *Corporate Communications*, vol.5, no.1, pp.5-11

Warner, G., (2002), 'Arson strikes Salvo store', *The Mercury*, 14 March, p.12

Waterhouse, C., (1998), 'Big Demand for Aged Homeless Service', *The Mercury Community News*, 1 September, p.2

Waterhouse, C., (2002), 'Salvos, Anglicare Join Forces', *The Mercury*, 14 May, p.11

Waterhouse, C., (2004), '\$1 Million Mark Topped Again in Salvos Appeal', *The Mercury*, 14 August, p.15

Watson, B., (1974), *The Salvationist in a Secular Society*, Salvationist Publishing, London

Weber, M., (1968), *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Bedminster Press, New York

Weber, M., (1974), *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Unwin University Books, London

Weick, K., & Browning, L., (1986), 'Arguments and Narration in Organizational Communication', *Journal of Management*, vol.12, pp.243-259

Weick, K., (1989), 'Theory Construction as Disciplined Imagination', *Academy of Management Review*, vol.14, no.4, pp.516-531

Weick, K., (1993), 'The Collapse of Sensemaking in Organizations: the Mann Gulch Disaster', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol.38, pp.628-652

Weick, K., (1995), *Sensemaking in Organizations*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks

Weiss, A., Anderson, E., & McInnis, D., (1999), 'Reputation Management as a Motivation for Sales Structure Decisions', *Journal of Marketing*, vol.63, no.4, pp.74-89

Whetten, D., & Godfrey, P., (eds.) (1998), *Identity in Organizations: Building Theory Through Conversations*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks

Wiedmann, K., & Buxel, H., (2005), 'Corporate Reputation Management in Germany: Results of an Empirical Study', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.8, no.2, pp.145-163

Whinnett, E., (1999), '\$50,000 Store Fire a Blow to Salvos', *The Mercury*, 5 February, p.6

Whinnett, E., (2002), 'Toy Run to Roar Off on a Kick-start', *The Mercury*, 30 October, p.9

White, H., (1973), *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore

Wikipedia (2006), <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reputation>, February 12

Williamson, O., (1975), *Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications*, Free Press, New York

Wiktionary, (2006), <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Transwiki:Kleos>, February 12

Winnington-Ingram, A., (1896), *Work in Great Cities*, sermon delivered to St Paul's Cathedral, 16 April

Witten, M., (1993), 'Narrative and the Culture of Obedience at the Workplace', in Mumby, D., (ed.), *Narrative and Social Control: Critical Perspectives*, Sage, Newbury Park, pp.97-118

Wood, D., & Jones, R., (1995), 'Stakeholder Mismatching: a Theoretical Problem in Empirical Research on Corporate Social Performance', *The International Journal of Organisational Analysis*, vol.3, no.3, pp.229-267

Wood, D., (2003), 'Editorial: Foucault and Panopticism Revisited', *Surveillance and Society*, vol.1, no.3, pp.234-239

Yin, R., (1994), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks

Young, K., (2004b), 'Jamie Ends Job Cycle of Despair', *The Mercury*, 1 October, p.5

Young, K., (2004a), 'Salvos Fear Fire Will Close Doors', *The Mercury*, 2 April, pp.1-2

Zabala, I., Panadero, G., Gallardo, L., Amate, C., Sanchez-Galindo, M., Tena, I., & Villalba, I., (2005), 'Corporate Reputation in Professional Service Firms: Reputation Management Based on Intellectual Capital Management', *Corporate Reputation Review*, vol.8, no.1, pp.59-71